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THE

Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN'S OVERTURE TO WESLEYAN METHODISTS.

Dr. Wordsworth, the Bishop of Lincoln, has issued certain proposals, to which he has given the designation, *Irenicum Wesleyanum*, the object of which, as implied by the title, is to establish something in the nature of an organic union between Wesleyan Methodists and the Church of England. The Right Rev. Prelate has proceeded tentatively in this matter. He has consulted a meeting consisting of members of the Methodist body, who discussed with him the bases upon which such a union might be possible, and it is not altogether outside the range of things that may be that the bishop's proposals will, in some form or other, be submitted to the Conference. We are indebted to the *Watchman* for a clear, concise, and spirited representation of the view likely to be taken by Wesleyans of intelligence and authority of the project elaborated by Dr. Wordsworth.

There is something curious in the putting forth by the Bishop of Lincoln of the new *Irenicum*. He is not the man from whom one would be led to expect such a proceeding, nor would one be disposed to imagine that the spirit exhibited by the Right Rev. Prelate towards the Methodists would be likely to conciliate their good wishes in relation to the scheme he has proposed. As the writer of the article in the *Watchman* very pertinently remarks, "Nothing but mischief can ensue upon the attempt to promote or gain union for which there is not a basis of mutual affection and esteem." It cannot be said, on behalf of the Church of England, that the theological leanings or the personal conduct of the bishop who, in the present instance, presents himself in the light of a peacemaker, are adapted to commend themselves to the Methodists, of his own diocese at least. It will be remembered that he was the prelate who stood by the Vicar of Owston Ferry in his refusal to sanction the inscription on the tombstone of his daughter of the prefix "Reverend" to the name of Mr. Keet, the Methodist minister of that place. It was he who published a pastoral, in which he endeavoured to demonstrate that the Wesleyans of the present day have departed from the principles laid down by their founder. And it is he whose authority is largely exercised within his diocese in steadily supporting Church of England services of all degrees of Ritualism and almost Romanism in their significance. As the *Watchman* truly observes, "For a century and more the Lincolnshire Methodists have undergone every variety of treatment from the Established Church. They have been mobbed; they have been ridiculed as enthusiasts; denounced and threatened as schismatic; passed by in silent contempt; refused as tenants, or ejected from their farms; and now, at the end of this period, after being alternately lectured and insulted, they are invited to enter into close and amicable relations with the Church of England. Could any reasonable man hope for success under such circumstances?"

But what, after all, are the Bishop of Lincoln's proposals? They may be inferred from the questions which, it is alleged, he contemplates offering to the Conference. The first is, whether that body would consent to its preachers, or any of them who might be so disposed, taking orders and benefices in the Church of England, and still continue in its fellowship. The reply suggested by our contemporary is "No"; for it is impossible, unless the Conference consents to merge the Methodist system in that of the Established Church, "which would not be union, but simply suicide." For example, "Suppose the superintendent of the Lincoln Circuit took orders, and obtained one of the small benefices in that city. Would he be governed by the bishop or the district meeting? Preach at church or chapel, or both in turn? Preside in the vestry and in the quarterly meeting, or at which? Remove at the end of three years, or remain? The Conference could not liberate him from his duties as a Methodist superintendent, because he had accepted other duties in addition."

The next question is, "Whether, on the supposition that Methodist chapels were licensed by bishops, and Anglican forms of worship allowed in them, would the Conference allow them to continue in its Connexion?" The reply is given in the form of another question, "Would the bishops and other clergy who might wish to preach in Methodist chapels submit to the same examination in doctrine and discipline as Methodist preachers are now subject to? If so, the Conference might, on their passing their examinations, admit them; but certainly not otherwise." The Bishop of Lincoln and his chaplains would all have to pass through the Lincoln District Meeting before they could statedly occupy the Methodist chapels in Lincoln, and so of every other diocese.

The last of the bishop's questions is to the following purport:—Would the Conference be willing that in parishes where the chapels are only licensed for preaching, prayer, and praise, Methodists should resort to their parish churches for Holy Communion? The reply given is to the effect that individual Methodists are not prevented from doing so at present, and some of them actually avail themselves of the liberty, but the Conference, if requested to exhort Wesleyan Methodists to go to parish churches to receive the Lord's Supper, would probably ask what guarantee could be given them that there should be no processions, vestments, lights, incense, or adoration of the elements in the churches to which, on the recommendation of the Conference, Wesleyans would be expected to repair. Or what security is likely to be offered that there shall be no rebaptism, auricular confession, insisted on as preparatory to Communion. On the whole, the *Watchman* concludes that these suggestions of the bishop "are about a century too late. In 1776 they might have been serviceable. To-day they are an anachronism."

It forcibly strikes us that the liberality of Dr. Wordsworth in these proposals is entirely one-sided. He asks concessions. What concessions does he make in return? To a certain extent, ministers of the Methodist body would receive recognition by the Established Church without the necessity of applying for Holy Orders. But, in point of fact, they would have to put themselves under Episcopal jurisdiction. They are coaxingly invited to take upon themselves a yoke which, in these days of expanding religious freedom, they are not likely to desire. That they would be more useful than they are, could such an arrangement be brought about, is extremely problematical to us, and would very likely appear so to them. Such propositions originate in no tender regard for the interests of Wesleyanism, but rather in rapidly multiplying fears of the permanence of the Establishment. The scheme, of course, is worth nothing as it stands. It has no authority at its back. It is a mere illustration of the straits into which High Churchmen find themselves driven. Fancy Ritualism and Methodism coming together, and kissing each other!

THE LAST DROP OF SWEETNESS AND LIGHT.

In an address delivered some little time ago at Sion College, Mr. Matthew Arnold informed the clergy, and through them the British public generally, of his final decision on the Burials Bill. In his acknowledged position as arbiter of public manners and culture, he ruled that the bill was conceived in very bad taste, and was therefore inadmissible. With the air of a supreme judge conscious of vast responsibility, but also confident in his power of sustaining it to the satisfaction of an admiring world, he decreed that Parliament must not pass any such bill. On the other hand, with the sweet reasonableness always characteristic of his decisions, he ruled that the clergy must forego their right to refuse Christian burial to unbaptized persons, and he added that "if this were done, and if the option of a silent service, or of a shortened service," were also given, it would be unnecessary to trouble him any more upon the subject. The world would therefore excuse him if he declined to hear any more on the matter, and, after the manner of Gallio, drove the appellants from his judgment seat.

Nevertheless, Mr. Matthew Arnold has not, it seems, been allowed to enjoy, undisturbed, his well-earned repose. He has been asked how the concession he allowed could be thought sufficient, when it has not the least relation to the public grievance alleged. If such a question had been asked by the "dissidence of dissent" it would not have troubled him. But it has actually been pressed by some who dwell in the same serene atmosphere of indifference to conscientious scruples which he himself inhabits. "I am asked this," he says, "by those who approach the question, just as I approach it myself, in a spirit perfectly disinterested; who have no political object to serve

by answering it in a way favourable to the Dissenters." Such appellants could hardly be refused a second hearing. The mere fact that they have no national object in view, distinguishes them honourably from the vulgar herd, whose low desires are set upon just laws and unsectarian government. Mr. Arnold has therefore, like Pilate, entered into the judgment hall again, and has condescended to justify his former decision. But this is really the final "last word." Having withered the *Times* and the political Dissenters, and Lord Selborne, and Lord Granville, with one comprehensive sneer, and having convicted the "warmest adversaries of the Church," including Mr. John Morley, of insincerity, in demanding what Mr. Arnold knows very well they disapprove, he adds, "and now I do really take leave of the question of Church and Dissent as I promised." But, if we might presume to say so, he does injustice to the Dissenters in supposing them for a moment to doubt that he has their good at heart. Nothing of the kind. His "sorrow at seeing fine qualities and energies thrown away" is really very affecting. The emotion is all the greater because of the gratification and pride we feel that the "fine qualities" of Dissenters should be recognised by so high an authority. We are as deeply touched as if Mr. Turveydrop had gracefully cast a pathetic glance on a handsome son of our own in a business house, and had lamented that so fine a form should be diverted from dancing and deportment, to be thrown away on the vulgarities of commerce. Yet the paternal heart might be comforted by the reflection that the despairing phrase "thrown away" is liable to very limited subjective meanings. An enthusiastic tailor, seeing a stalwart and well-proportioned young doctor hurrying from one patient to another, might naturally think so fine a figure "thrown away," because it was not lounging in Hyde Park to exhibit the triumphs of sartorian art.

A judgment which, however severe, is pronounced with many expressions of polite condescension to inferior minds, certainly deserves a respectful, not to say a reverential, consideration. But in giving it our best attention we are haunted by the sad remembrance that the last word has been spoken, and that no more light is to be expected from the same source. For there are some points which, to our obtuse eyes, appear to need elucidation; and we greatly fear that the oracle has not sufficiently estimated the intellectual darkness of "the common Englishman," who "falls with great ease into vulgarity." We are told for instance that "what is done and said in a public place, and *bears with it a public character*, should be done and said worthily." Excellently well said, no doubt. Our foolishness would have rashly ventured farther, and affirmed that everything in human conduct and speech, whether public or private, should be done and said worthily. The only question is how this most desirable end is to be accomplished. We have always understood that there were objections to too free use of Acts of Parliament, on the ground that worthiness is an issue of character, which no Act of Parliament can create. But Mr. Matthew Arnold is of opinion that this matter of funereal ceremony is one in which Acts of Parliament may and must interfere, for the reason given in the words we have italicised. A funeral conducted in a parish churchyard is not only something "done in a public place," but, in Mr. Arnold's judgment, "bears with it a public character." This sounds so very plausible that, not being restrained like our instructor by judicial responsibilities, we are irresistibly tempted to carry the principle out consistently. We believe there are public cemeteries here and there. Indeed, the clergy sometimes tell us that there are so many that we have no need at all to contaminate with our unhallowed corpses the inheritance of the Lord. It occurs to us to ask whether these cemeteries are "public places" or not. We do not allude to those which belong to joint-stock companies. These Mr. Arnold would, no doubt, put down as private. But what about those which are provided by townships, parishes, or municipalities at the public expense? Are these private? We have always been taught that the parish churchyard is the parson's freehold. It would be a very odd thing if this were to be treated as public, and the property of a whole town be regarded as private. We take it, then, that a cemetery provided out of the rates by authority of the imperial law is a public place.

The next question that arises is as to the funerals conducted there. Do they, or do they not, "bear with them a public character?" To show our anxious desire to profit by the "last word" of our mentor, we will take both alternatives in succession. We will first suppose it granted that such funerals do "bear with them a public character." In that case Mr. Arnold must in consistency advocate a little Act of Uniformity for the special benefit of such cemeteries, imposing the use of a dignified service in the unconsecrated portion, with the charitable permission of silence if that be refused. But why does the "last word" contain no such suggestion? Surely not because it was hopeless. For there is no man so chivalrously persistent in making hopeless suggestions as Mr. Matthew Arnold. Can it possibly have been because no illustrations of the abuse of freedom could be adduced to justify the suggestion? But surely instances could be alleged in which funeral services have been conducted with an entire absence of the letter "h," or even with its indecent obtrusion in improper places. If necessary, "incalculable surprises" in grammar might be proved by the dozen; and where the national speech is concerned, Parliament would, we frankly admit, be quite as well qualified to intervene as it is in matters of religion. But, perhaps, we may be told that the poor ceremonials of dissenting sorrow cannot possibly "bear with them a public character" even if performed in a public place. In that case, however, a new source of perplexity arises. For if they have no public character, they can bring no discredit on the nation, even though allowed in the parish graveyard.

But Mr. Arnold tells us that the moment a place has a public and national character "there emerges the requirement of a public form for use there." We have always been under the impression that the "King's highway" has a "public and national character." What is the "public form" required for use there? It would perhaps be too much to ask the great master of moral and intellectual deportment to act as national dancing and drill master. Otherwise, he might do good service by prescribing the sort of step to be practised on the public streets. That there are limits to individual caprice in such places is, of course, admitted. No one would be allowed to run a mile there, arrayed solely in a cocked hat and gaiters. Anyone, who tried it, would be held to "bear with him" enough of "public character" to necessitate the imposition of a "public form" in the shape of some additions to his clothing, specially a strait-waistcoat. Somehow public decency and order manage to protect themselves. And we have been told that such is the case also where all national graveyards are freely open to the nation. Altogether, there are some perplexities in this "last word," which lead us to regret that henceforward the oracle is dumb.

THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT.

MR. GORDON'S MEETINGS.

Although the lecturing campaign is generally suspended during the summer months, Mr. Gordon has found some work to do. He has recently lectured at Boston Spa, Wetherby, and Kirkby-Moorside, and has held a set debate of two nights in the open air, with Dr. Lee, the vicar of Esh, at Esh Colliery, Durham. Dr. Lee was to have met Mr. Gordon again at Darlington, but the meeting is now proposed for Durham, after which Mr. Gordon returns to Esh. Last week Mr. Gordon, supported by Mr. Andrew, addressed large and sympathetic audiences in the open air at Tadcaster and Clifford. The response was quite surprising. Mr. Lummis also has lectured at Wrangle, Mr. W. Banks presiding. There was a large and enthusiastic audience.

OUR SUMMER CAMPAIGN.—Now that people cannot be got to attend public meetings of any kind in the towns, attention is being directed to country places, where meetings, being less plentiful than elsewhere, will draw audiences larger than can be gathered in the dark nights of winter. And open-air meetings can be held only in the summer, and in many parishes the village green is the only place where a meeting can be held. So far these meetings have been very gratifying, both because of their orderliness and of the strong interest in the disestablishment question on the part of the rural population which they have unquestionably displayed. In addition to meetings, the system of tract distribution in the villages, and of placard posting at the watering places, which was adopted last summer with great success, will be again employed. It then embraced twenty-four counties, and we hope that counties which were then more or less neglected will receive due attention now. For that purpose we beg that we may receive from our friends, who are well acquainted with the country districts, the names of suitable persons who are likely to act as tract distributors, whether as paid agents or as volunteers. This is a kind of work which can be done by those who may be unable to aid the good work in any other way.—*Liberator.*

MODE OF EFFECTING DISESTABLISHMENT.—Several newspapers have published statements to the effect that the society has prepared a bill for Disestablishing the Church of England, and that it will shortly be made public, with a view to its introduction next session. They are fictions founded upon fact. The Executive Committee have not prepared, and have not proposed to prepare, such a measure, which is the work of a Cabinet and of its draftsmen, and not of the society. They are, however, considering some suggestions bearing upon the subject, which may be useful in directing public attention to the main points which will have to be dealt with when the time for disestablishment comes, and in forming public opinion on some of the confessedly difficult questions which have to be resolved in connection with disendowment. More definite information than this we are unable to give at the present time, and the society's friends, at least, will be quite content to allow the Executive Committee to judge not only what is best to be done, but when it is best to do it.—*Liberator.* [We believe that the further consideration of the subject stands over till the autumn.]

The *National Church* of this month, in an article on the "Present Position of Church Defence," beseeches more support for the Church Defence movement. It says:—"The time has come for placing before all classes of Englishmen plainly and fully the true history of the Church, the great work she has in all ages done for the nation, and the magnificent future that is before her if her children are faithful and true to themselves in this crisis of her trial. We are glad to see that the bishops are beginning to speak out in the matter. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of Winchester and Gloucester and Bristol, in their speeches on Monday, urged the necessity of placing before the people the whole truth respecting the Church's work and history."

In a review of a recently published Church pamphlet, the same journal says of the author:—"We cannot agree with him in thinking the Liberation Society 'an incompetent knot of agitators': they have all the wisdom of the serpent."

THE PERSE SCHOOL AT CAMBRIDGE.—The governors of the Perse School, at Cambridge, sat for nearly three hours on Friday, chiefly to discuss the circumstances arising out of the dismissal of Mr. F. C. Maxwell by the headmaster, Mr. Allen. It was proposed that the headmaster be dismissed. To this an amendment was moved and carried, by nine votes to three, that the matter having been fully discussed before a full board, and Mr. Maxwell's appeal heard, the question could not be reopened. Another resolution was passed, in answer to a memorial numerously signed by persons in Cambridge, to the effect that the governors are jealous of the liberties of Nonconformists, and would mark their disapproval of any deviation from the scheme by which the school is governed with respect to Nonconformists.

RELIGIOUS TEACHING IN ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS.—On Saturday a deputation of Churchmen and Dissenters had an interview with the Duke of Richmond and Gordon with reference to the school-books used in the Roman Catholic schools during the time fixed for secular teaching. The deputation emanated from a meeting of Churchmen and Dissenters held some time ago, when a memorial was drawn up for presentation to the Lord President of the Council. The deputation was introduced by Sir T. Chambers, Q.C., M.P., and was accompanied by the Hon. A. Kinnaird, M.P. The deputation pointed out that mixed with the secular teaching in Roman Catholic schools there was also religious instruction, with the commendation of the Roman Catholic ceremonies, pilgrimages, worship of relics, and the depreciation of Protestanism. They contended that as the Protestants were bound by law to abstain from all religious teaching during the secular hours, and also from attacks upon other Church systems, the Roman Catholics ought to be guided by the same rules, as required by the Education Act. They also pointed out that whilst Protestants were prohibited from appointing ministers or clergymen as teachers, the Roman Catholic schools were taught by the various orders of the Roman Catholic Church, in contempt of this general rule. They pressed that the Roman Catholics should be required to abstain from the breach of the law, and yield the obedience which was rendered by all other denominations. The Rev. Dr. Rule, lately chaplain to the army, produced the books to which references were made; and the Rev. Mr. Beaman, Independent minister, and Mr. Baxter addressed his grace. The Duke of Richmond and Gordon, in reply, said that the books to which they had referred should be looked into, and their complaints considered. The deputation then withdrew.

HOW THE STATE-CHURCH WORKS IN OUR VILLAGES.—A correspondent of the *English Labourer*, who signs, "W. Smart," relates the following:—"At Hillesden, near Buckingham, is a National day school, attended by upwards of thirty children, sixteen of whom are scholars in a Nonconformist Sunday school at Gawcott, another village about two miles distant. The children at this day school, by their attendance, earn a Government grant, which, with the children's pence, nearly covers the expenditure; and to encourage the children to attend so that this grant may be earned, a tea and treat were promised the scholars. On Thursday, June 29, this tea was announced to take place on the following afternoon, and those children present who went to the Gawcott school on the Sunday were told to hold up their hands. They were then informed that they would not get any part of the tea or rewards, and that they all deserved a sound whipping for going to a 'chapel' school. They were further ordered to attend on the Friday afternoon to see the favoured ones feast, and told if

they did not come they would be severely caned on the following Monday. Most of the poor children, fearing the threatened punishment, did attend on the Friday, and after seeing the other children have their meal, were sent empty away. Seventeen were fed, sixteen sent away, so that nearly half the grant was earned by the Nonconformists, and this grant was given on the condition 'that no child shall forfeit any of the benefits of the school because of attendance or non-attendance at any school or place of worship on the Sunday.' This spiteful act was committed by the orders of the rector of the parish, Robert Holt—and it is to such supporters of 'sweetness and light' Lord Sandon's Education Bill would give extended powers." The following notice, dated June, 1876, was publicly exhibited in a Bedfordshire village:—"The church has been so thinly attended of late that in future all Salford people, 'both men and women,' are informed that if they do not go to church on the Sunday their clothing-club money will be refused on the Monday. Likewise all charities, consisting of coals, bread, soups, and Christmas gifts, will be refused to all who do not attend the church." On a previous occasion the same spirited lady who issued the above notice refused to let any but church-goers a few poles of land. It appears that the vicar does not countenance these proceedings.

THE SCOTCH TOMBSTONE CASE.—A few days ago we reported the proceedings of an influential Scotch deputation which waited upon the Chief Commissioner of Works, for the purpose of remonstrating with him on his refusal to permit a certain inscription to be inscribed on a tablet which is destined to perpetuate the memory of Dr. Thomas Gillespie in the Abbey Church of Dunfermline. Owing to departmental arrangements, which we suppose are peculiar to this country, Lord Henry Lennox is invested with the responsibility of determining what epitaphs shall or shall not be recorded within the precincts of the venerable edifice in question; and in the interest, as he alleged, of Christian charity, he put his veto on the proposed inscription. Now, that inscription simply placed on record the perfectly notorious historical fact that Dr. Gillespie, who was ordained by Dr. Doddridge, and who became the founder of the Relief Church, was "deposed by the General Assembly for refusing to take part in the forced settlement of a minister at Inverkeithing in 1752." Lord Henry Lennox's ecclesiastical susceptibilities, as well as those of certain members of the Church of Scotland, were wounded by this blunt statement of a not very creditable episode in the history of the Kirk; and he proposed to compromise the matter by endeavouring to induce the local Presbytery to consent to substitute "seceded" or "separated" for the obnoxious word "deposed." This the Presbytery declined to do, as well they might, seeing that Dr. Gillespie neither seceded nor separated from the Church of Scotland, but was actually deposed by the General Assembly for obeying the dictates of conscience. The deputation, however, has induced the Chief Commissioner to reconsider his decision, we are glad to say, with a satisfactory result. Lord Henry Lennox has addressed a letter to the Rev. Dr. Hutton, the leading member of the deputation, in which he explains that "his original objection to the inscription arose from an earnest desire that the strife which had so unfortunately distracted the Church in those days should not be perpetuated." He adds, that after carefully weighing the arguments of the deputation, and consulting distinguished authorities in the Church of Scotland, he is of opinion that his object will best be attained by the withdrawal of his opposition to the proposed inscription. We think so too. Dr. Gillespie was "deposed" by an act of the General Assembly, and it is ridiculous to suppose that the simple record of an event which occurred 125 years ago can violate any principle of charity, or give reasonable cause of offence to any living man.—*Daily News.*

Religious and Denominational News.

CHRIST CHURCH, WESTMINSTER ROAD.

The services in connection with this new place of worship were continued on Thursday, when the Rev. S. Minton, M.A., preached at noon, and the Rev. R. Balgarnie in the evening. We give the conclusion of the address of Mr. Minton, whose name will be remembered as that of a clergyman who no longer belongs to the Establishment, but is not associated with any particular communion:—

Having had the privilege of occupying your pastor's pulpit, I will not detain you by making any protestations of my ever deepening sense of the vital importance of Christian union, or of my high esteem for the honoured servant of God, who has invited me here to-day, I will only congratulate him and you and the Free Churches of this land—whose welfare and progress every one must see to be so essential to liberty of thought and liberty of action amongst us—upon the magnificent building which you are now consecrating to the service of God. It contains all that architecture can do to elevate and ennoble without anything to distract the minds of the worshippers, or to turn aside their worship from the simplicity of the Gospel to the beggarly elements of mediæval superstition. The erection of this church, in conjunction with others of a similar character, marks an era in the history of England's religious and ecclesiastical progress. Free Churchism no longer hides its head, pleads for toleration, or consents to exist on sufferance. The mustard seed has become a tree; and the very fact of its having put forth such a branch as this, shows that it can no longer be despised, or dealt with on anything less than equal terms. Facts and principles will embody themselves in outward forms: and this structure undoubtedly embodies a great fact, and celebrates the triumph of most important principles. Its opening services are conducted very appropriately by ministers from most of the various sections of Christ's Holy Catholic Church in these realms. And I have not the least doubt that, long before its walls begin to show signs of age, nay, while many of you are still occupying those pews the very chiefest ministers of the great historic Church of England will feel it an honour and a privilege to occupy this pulpit, and men will look back with something between a smile and a sigh to the time when the presence in it of a humble Episcopalian minister like myself, or of a great missionary preacher like my friend Mr. Aitken, could be regarded with any different feelings than those which are excited by that of a Presbyterian, a Wesleyan, or a Baptist. You will this week have done much to hasten that blessed time, and while thanking God for having given me the desire to work and pray for its speedy coming I also thank my reverend brother for giving me the opportunity of bearing a part, however small, in these most Christian and Catholic services. May God speed him in his work here, and pour him out such a blessing that even in this noble edifice there shall not be room enough to receive it.

On Friday the Rev. John Graham (Sydney) and the Rev. J. P. Chown (Baptist) preached.

On Saturday addresses were delivered at Christ Church on Christian Union, Doctrine, and Duty, by the following clergymen of the Church of England: Hon. and Rev. W. Fremantle, of St. Mary's, Bryanston-square; the Rev. Aubrey Price, of St. James's, Clapham; the Rev. Joshua Kirkman, of St. Stephen's, Hampstead; the Rev. R. Maguire, of St. Olave's, Southwark; and the Rev. E. Brigg. Addresses were also delivered by the Rev. Dr. Aveling, chairman of the Congregational Union; the Rev. Edward White, of St. Paul's Chapel, Camden Town; the Rev. Newman Hall, and others.

Surrey Chapel has passed into the hands of the Primitive Methodists, who conducted their first service there on Sunday week. The lease has still about six years to run.

THE PRESBYTERIAN THANKSGIVING FUND.—It will be remembered that the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of England resolved, at its recent meeting in Liverpool, to celebrate the union then consummated by collecting a thanksgiving fund of not less than 250,000*l.*, which it is proposed to employ in helping poor congregations, in church extension, and in the support of foreign or Jewish missions. The scheme is very elastic, and the opportunity is given to donors to designate the specific objects to which their donations may be given. We understand that, taking advantage of the latitude thus afforded, Mr. Robert Barbour, of Manchester, who has been distinguished by the support he has always given to the Presbyterian cause in England, has devoted a sum of 10,000*l.*, to the foundation of a professorship in the Presbyterian College, Queen-square, London. Several other munificent gifts have been announced. It is contemplated, we understand, early in the autumn to hold an aggregate public meeting—probably in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester—to celebrate the union, and this will probably be followed by a series of congregational meetings, with the special design of promoting the thanksgiving fund.—*Manchester Examiner.*

NEW MEMORIAL OF JOHN BUNYAN AT BEDFORD.—On Wednesday afternoon there was a large assemblage of inhabitants of the town of Bedford and its vicinity to witness the unveiling of the bronze doors, illustrative of the "Pilgrim's Progress," presented to the chapel which still bears the name of "Bunyan Meeting," by the Duke of Bedford. It may be as well here briefly to repeat the origin of this gift. His grace having last year had his attention directed to a series of bronze panels which had been lying for some time in the studio of Mr. Thrupp, and having been much struck with the artistic beauty both of the design and of the execution, it occurred to him that the fitting place for what are, in fact, pictorial renderings of some of the chief conceptions in the immortal allegory of Bunyan was the town with which his name is, and must always be, inseparably associated. With this feeling the duke offered them to the minister and congregation of the Bunyan Meeting, and the response was, of course, glad and grateful acceptance. The duke then commissioned Mr. Thrupp to provide a suitable frame for the panels, and the result is extremely satisfactory, the frame and all its surroundings being in bronze, like the pictures, and entirely harmonising with them. A handsome covered stone portico, having two pillars, has also been erected to improve the approach to the gates, which form the principal entrance, and at the same time preserve the memorial; and the vestibule has, for similar reasons, been altered and restored, the latter now including a brass tablet recording the fact that the gates were presented by His Grace Francis Charles Hastings Russell, ninth Duke of Bedford, on the 5th of July, 1876. The size of the doors unveiled on Wednesday is about nine feet by five. The ten panel pictures are in pairs, and beginning at the bottom, run upwards in order, commencing with "Christian reproached by his wife and neighbour," and ending with "Christian crossing the flood, supported by Hopeful." The ceremony of unveiling took place at four o'clock, from a thousand to fifteen hundred people being present, and the street in front, as well as a large space within the chapel railings, being thronged with spectators. The assembly included the Mayor of Bedford (Mr. James T. Hobson), the Mayoress (Mrs. Hobson), and several members of the corporation, preceded by the town banner; Mr. James Howard, who had just returned in improved health from the Cape; Dr. James Coombs, chairman of the trustees of the memorial; Mr. Charles Berrill, the Rev. Dr. Stoughton, the Rev. John Brown, minister of the chapel, Mr. Coombs, &c. The proceedings having been opened with the singing of the psalm, beginning, "All people that on earth do dwell," Dr. Coombs stated that letters expressing regret at inability to attend had been received from the Dean of Westminster, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Mr. S. Whitbread, M.P., Sir H. Havelock, M.P., Mr. George Cruikshank, and Mr. C. E. Mudie. Dr. Coombs, in a brief address, after congratulating the congregation of the chapel on the acquisition of such a beautiful and significant work of art, said he was sure that all who were there, and the multitudes who would yet come to look at that treasure, would rejoice that Bedford was again enriched with a possession so interesting and valuable. The mayoress then unveiled the doors amid cheers; after which the Rev. James Brown delivered a short congratulatory address, and the proceedings terminated with the singing of another hymn. Immediately after the unveiling a photograph was taken of the scene by Mr. Henry Dixon, of Albany-street, Regent's Park, who has also prepared excellent representations of the panels separately and of the entire doors. Tea was served in the Bunyan Rooms at seven o'clock, and in the evening there was a celebration service. The Rev. Dr. Stoughton delivered a lecture relating to the memorial. After alluding to several spots of special local interest connected with the career of Bunyan—the village green at Elstow; his house in St. Cuthbert's parish, Bedford; the county gaol where he was a prisoner; and the chapel in Mill-street—and after glancing at the fact that Howard the philanthropist gave a new pulpit when the chapel was repaired in 1769, he spoke of the great interest attached to the bronze doors, illustrating this by allusions to the Ghiberti gates at Florence, the historic gates of the Church of St. Ambrose at Milan, and the gates of the Castle Church at Wittemburg, associated with the history of the Reformation. He also pointed out that the doors unveiled that day were an indication of a change of taste in matters connected with religious worship, and that they illustrated the peculiar allegorical genius of Bunyan, and in concluding he observed that they taught the valuable lesson that there was but one gate through which any of them could ever reach the Golden City. A resolution of thanks of the Duke of Bedford was passed, and the proceedings concluded with the anthem, "I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house to the Lord."

THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE ASSOCIATION OF BAPTIST CHURCHES has recently held its anniversary meetings at Rushden. There was a good attendance, and the proceedings occupied two days, the Rev. J. T. Brown, of Northampton, presiding. The circular letter on "The Responsibilities of a Revival of Religion" was read by the Rev. James Seager, of Thrapston. The report stated that the increase of members in the associated churches was 453. At the annual meeting of the Baptist County Mission in the evening, the Rev. J. T. Brown presided, and in the course of his speech said, in reference to the recent denominational controversies, that when that society was started it was made a strict rule that where the Wesleyans or Independents were, unless the town was too large for their work, they (the Baptists) would not go. The object of the society was to go where there was actual destitution. First there was Desborough, where they found a State Church and a little Wesleyan chapel, not at all sufficient for the accommodation of the population, and it could not be enlarged; and the Wesleyans themselves therefore welcomed the advent of the society. Subsequently their Independent friends, acting as he thought unwisely, built a place there and made another interest. He only wished the Baptist and Independent interests could be united. He would marry them for nothing, and give them a trifle with which to set up housekeeping. (Laughter and applause.) After describing in detail the work carried on in other places, he said the result was that, although it was said Voluntaryism was unable to provide for the necessities of the people in our villages, they were able to say it had provided for them and in almost every village and hamlet in the county they would find a chapel, and, he was almost sorry to say, more than one chapel. It was a marvellous thing when they came to think of it. He should not know where to place a chapel because a chapel was absolutely needed. The Society had found there were certain churches in the villages, some of their oldest churches, in a perfectly low condition, and that unless they could be helped it was not possible that much could be done, apparently at least. Theirs suffered from two discouragements. One was the migration of the hopeful and the helpful from the villages to the towns, and the other was the immense influences brought to bear against their work in villages. Their friends in the villages deserved the intense sympathy of those in the towns; and they needed to remember that their work and their aims were but one. As to the Church influences, he said:—

Be true. (Loud applause.) Abide your time. You may depend upon it this is only a thing of a time or a season. It is a trying time. They are fighting us with weapons we have not in our hands, and I hope would never use if we had them. (Applause.) They are fighting by pinnacles, and loaves, and bribes, and all kinds of things. (Hear, hear.) They are

making men worse in order to make them Churchmen. I say we cannot fight them with those weapons. We have not wealth enough, social status enough, or influence enough. They can beat us there. But truth, sincerity, God, are stronger than all those—(applause)—and depend upon it God is not on the side of that which depreciates the conscience of a man. (Loud applause.) It is extremely trying, as trying to the temper as it is to the heart, but let us beat them by long suffering, patience, and steadfastness to the truth and to our principles, and the time will come round when you will find the men who are now half-drawn away will know where the reality is, and that we have their respect even when the others have not, even when sometimes we have not their presence. May we never be wanting in boldness, fidelity, and power to suffer all things, aye, and more than we do at the present time. For their brethren and companions' sakes, for the honour of old Northamptonshire, let them pledge themselves that if money was wanted it should be given, that sympathy, which was better than money, that work and prayer, and zeal and life, and everything should be given that the dead around them might live. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Subsequently Mr. Brown spoke of the martyrdom that some suffered in the villages, of landlords who refused to let their farms to tenants who happened to be Dissenters, and of others who pleaded that their living was at stake if they did not conform, for whom he prayed that strength might be given them to be true to Christ. Those who thus acted to their tenants and labourers were persecutors. (Cheers.) The treasurer's report showed an income of some 280*l.*, which was exceeded by the expenditure. Amongst the speakers were the Revs. J. B. Lee, of Walgrave, who said that the suffering of many of their friends in villages through ecclesiastical tyranny would never be known in this world, and gave instances of men being turned out of their positions and their villages for conscience' sake—T. Matthews (West Haddon) and George Jarman (Birmingham). A dinner was subsequently held, and afterwards the ordinance of the Lord's Supper was administered. In the evening of the second day another service was held in the chapel. The following resolution was unanimously passed at the association meeting in themorning, on the motion of the Rev. J. B. Myers, seconded by the Rev. W. H. Payne:—"That this association, having within its limits during the past year, in more than one intance, painfully experienced the oppression of the present state of the law with respect to the burial of the dead, desires to record its unabated interest in the measure before Parliament; its gratification at the valuable and continued support rendered by Mr. Morgan in the House of Commons, and at the position which, under the able conduct of Earl Granville, it has assumed in the House of Lords; and its determination not to rest content with any settlement of the question which shall not recognise the equal rights of parishioners to the parish graveyard."

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL.

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On Monday evening, on the motion to go into Committee on this bill,

Mr. Henry Richard rose to move that in the opinion of this House the principle of universal compulsion in education cannot be applied without great injustice unless provision be made for placing public elementary schools under public management. The hon. member, whose opening sentences were but imperfectly audible, was understood to remark that it was with perfect sincerity that he said it gave him no pleasure to appear there as an objector to the bill. The cause of popular education was one very near to his heart, and he had been an humble but earnest labourer in the cause for forty-five years. Thirty years ago he took an active part in the establishment of a school for boys, girls, and infants in one of the populous districts of the metropolis, through which schools he believed up to the present time some 1,500 or 1,600 children had passed. In the year 1845 he had the pleasure of starting a movement in favour of day school education in Wales, which had led to the formation of the first Normal school ever established, and of many scores, if not hundreds, of day schools in various parts of Wales. After that he had the honour of being honorary secretary of the Voluntary School Society which established normal schools in London, and largely aided by means of grants of money the establishment of voluntary schools in various parts of the country. Therefore he hoped that the House would excuse this little bit of egotism, as he wished it to be understood that he was not an objector to, and an obstructor of, education, but an active worker in that great cause. Mr. Richard continued: It would have been a great satisfaction to me if a bill had been introduced by the Government which would have allowed of all of us, without distinction of sect or party, on equal terms cordially to co-operate in promoting the work of national education; but, unhappily, this is a bill for promoting, not national, but sectarian education. The object of the bill is, obviously and avowedly I may say, to discourage the formation of school boards, and all that more liberal and unsectarian class of schools that spring from school boards, and to strengthen and extend to the utmost possible extent the denominational schools. The speeches of the Vice-President of the Council (Viscount Sandon) and of the right hon. gentleman the Secretary for War (Mr. Gathorne Hardy) left no doubt upon this point, and we may consider, therefore, this was the dominant idea that presided over the preparation of the bill. And then we must consider the denominational schools and the immense majority they are in. Out of 14,000 parishes outside the boroughs only 1,749 have school boards, leaving 12,000 or more, where, if there be any schools at all, they must be denominational schools. And now let us see what you do by this bill for denominational schools. First of all, you subsidise them largely with pecuniary aid, and you do this in three ways. First, by clause 12 which says, if any parent is unable to pay a fee of twopence a week for his child it may be paid for him by the guardians of the poor. Next by clause 13 you provide that in poor districts a grant may be given to the school to the amount of twice the income of the school from every source. And, thirdly, you give power to the local authorities to force all children in the district, whether they be Roman Catholics, or Nonconformists, or Jews, or whatever they may be, into the denominational schools, and thereby add largely to the income of those schools. But this is not all. Compulsory bye-laws may be expensive in the working, and the cost of this machinery is to be defrayed, not from the income of the schools that are to profit by them, but from the rates, so that Dissenters and Roman Catholics will be taxed for the machinery that is to fill church schools by forcing their own children into them. And if any sturdy Dissenter or Roman Catholic upon grounds of conscience refuses to send his child to the school, you give the power to the court of summary jurisdiction, and the very clergyman who is the manager of the voluntary school may fine him five shillings, and if he persevere in his refusal, may take his child away from home and send it to an industrial school until it is fourteen or sixteen years of age, and compel the parent to pay for his keep. Now, I object to this bill on various grounds. I object to it first on account of its thoroughly unconstitutional character. Is it not one of the principles of our administration that public money is not to be handed over to be spent under the direction and at the discretion of persons who are not in any way responsible to the nation? (Hear, hear.) The hon. gentleman the member for South Devon, ending an able speech on the Prisons Bill, made the remark that looking at the subject as a question of principle, he thought that local control ought to be exercised over the expenditure of money raised by local rates. But here there is local taxation in the form of the payment of the fees of the children by the guardians, and in defraying the expenses of the compulsory machinery without any pretence of local management or local control over expenditure. Then I object to the bill as tending to check as much as possible the growth of the part of our educational system which has about it something of the national character. Whatever may be the objections alleged against school boards it will be admitted at least that they have this advantage—that they call in the whole nation without distinction of class, or creed, or religion, unitedly to bear a part in what deserves to be called the national work of education; and it must be a national work that deserves such a distinction. But you take the work out of the hands of the nation in order to consign it to the hands of a sect. (Hear, hear.) I believe there is a provision in the bill by which localities may still have school boards under this bill, but then we have the belief that the administration of the Educational Department is hostile to school boards, and the presumption is that it will checkmate the desire expressed by localities for the establishment of school boards. A very singular illustration of the animus that actuates the department in respect of this point has come lately to my knowledge in connection with the case of Winchester. When twelve months ago the Town Council of that city passed a resolution requesting the lords of the committee of Council to make an order for the establishment of a school board in that town, the denominational party called a meeting and petitioned against the board, and the department listened to them rather than to the town council, and refused the order, and have continued to refuse it to this day. Well, there is another objection which many persons feel very strongly indeed against this bill, and that is its tendency to throw the education of the people more and more into clerical hands. (Hear, hear.) It is well known that in country parishes the clergyman is virtually the sole manager of the schools, and he moulds and fashions them according to his own will; if in thousands of parishes all the children are thrown into the hands of the local clergymen with no effectual check upon the authority they wield, the influence they exercise will be very enormous. Now, this is not purely a Nonconformist objection; there are tens of thousands of working men who object to have their children consigned to clerical hands. (Hear, hear.) I was very much struck by a passage in a pamphlet by a gentleman who is known to many gentlemen here, I mean Mr. Henry Dunn, formerly secretary to the British and Foreign School Society. He says—

> The religious denominations, however numerous or well organised, do not when combined represent the people of England. Outside of them all may be found a large and growing multitude who, although far from destitute of regard for religion, decidedly object to the education of the country being handed over to ecclesiastical bodies of any kind. They regard such a course as *the evasion* of a great national duty, and they feel that more than enough has already been done to encourage our abandoning sectarianism. Many among the working classes share in these views, and no good reason whatever can be given why the opinions of these men should be altogether disregarded.

My own conviction is, that to entrust the education of the people to clerical hands will tend to prolong and embitter our religious and social divisions, and to interfere with our unity of national life. No man can accuse me of having any special prejudice against the clerical profession. (Oh, oh.) The principle I go upon is, that national education should be the national work, and therefore should be as free, as broad, and as exempt from sectarian influences as the nation. This can never be while education is in the hands of the clergy of any denomination whatever. It is a very curious thing that at the very time when by this bill we propose to enormously extend the power of the clergy in connection with education, in almost every other civilised country of the world, the State—especially the Liberal party in the State—are showing a disposition to transfer the education of the people from the hands of the clergy to the hands of the State. (Hear, hear.) This is the case in France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Portugal, Switzerland, the United States, and the British Colonies. It is surely not without grave significance for us to find all civilised countries going in that direction, and it ought to be an instruction and a warning to ourselves. But there are especial reasons which in the estimation of many intensify their objections to delivering over the children of this country into the hands of the clergy, and that is the character of the teaching on a large and growing section of the clergy. I don't wish to wound the religious susceptibilities of the members from Ireland who may be present, and I hope they will not deem me very intolerant if I express my own strong conviction that the freedom and the greatness of this country are bound up with the maintenance of its Protestant faith. (Hear, hear) Mr. Burke on one occasion stated that Nonconformity is the Protestantism of the Protestant religion. I have no particular objection to the definition; but if that be so, the House will easily understand what we, as Protestant Dissenters, feel when we see what is going on at this moment in the Church of England. What is now going on? A society has been established on purpose to arrest the progress of the doctrines and practices to which I advert, at the head of which is Lord Shaftesbury and Lord Ebury. In their address they say "that the so-called Anglo-Catholics in the Established Church can count on a perfect impunity has lately been evinced by the startling fact that '480 priests' have signed and presented a petition to Convocation in the Province of Canterbury, asking for the selection and licensing of duly qualified confessors. Already the practice of auricular confession is encouraged in a good many churches; public notice is given of the days and hours when the priest will attend to relieve the consciences of penitents; and there is indication of an intense desire to restore the confessional as an essential religious institution. It is notorious that other practices of the same school are spreading rapidly. The Lord's Table gives place to the altar; the observance of the Lord's Supper is changed into a celebration of mass; and the blessed Eucharist is reserved as in Roman Catholic churches; prayers are invited for the repose of the dead; and children are being educated (in some degree at the public expense) in familiarity with tenets, hymns, and ceremonies which are subsersive at once of Christ's Gospel and of the English Reformation." But I can call a witness on this point whose testimony will be of more value than that of any other man in this House, the noble lord the Vice-President of the Council himself. In the year 1874 he made a very able and earnest speech in this House on the Public Worship Regulation Bill, and on that occasion he said there was great danger lest the compact between the Church and State, and which rested upon the maintenance on the part of the Church of the doctrines and usages of the Reformation, should be broken. The noble lord continued:—

> That the danger was real was evident from the reply of the two highest authorities in the land, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, who last year, in reply to a memorial presented to them, said, "There can be no doubt that the danger you apprehend of a considerable minority both of clergy and laity among us desiring to subvert the principles of the Reformation is real. We feel justified in appealing to all reasonable men to consider whether the very existence of our national institutions for the maintenance of religion is not imperilled by the evils of which you complain."

Then the noble lord went on to say: "Could anything be more serious or more alarming than such an acknowledgment and such an appeal from the two much-respected and discreet heads of the Church." Then he proceeded to justify the alarm which he felt in regard to the progress of this party in the Church by quoting some passages from their journals and writings in order to illustrate the extremes to which they went. Among them was the following passage from the *Church Times*, the

only one with which I shall trouble the House :—"We are contending, as our adversaries know full well, for the extirpation of Protestant opinions and practice, not merely within the Church itself, but throughout all England." I have quoted this passage because I have seen another passage in which they boast of their rapid progress, and show the great efforts they are making in regard to choral services, public choirs, saints days, dedication festivals, vestments, and floral decorations, and he estimates that the Extreme Right, as he calls them, possess one-fifth of all the working churches of the metropolis, and a good half of the community. It is not in the metropolis merely, but this thing is spreading throughout the whole country. How does this bear upon the question before us? Most intimately and vitally, because the noble lord proposes by means of education to sweep the education of the people of this country into the hands of the clergy, and in thousands of parishes into the hands of the very men, some of whom, at least according to his own admission, and the acknowledgments of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York are trying to subvert the principles of the Reformation, and are bringing into peril the very existence of our national institutions for the maintenance of religion. (Hear, hear.) I will call another witness on this point, a nobleman held in honour and esteem by all parties in this country. Whatever differences may exist between any of us and Lord Shaftesbury in regard to ecclesiastical and theological matters, we all honour and reverence him for his unbounded philanthropy and devotion to the service of humanity. (Hear, hear.) Speaking in May last at the annual meeting of the Church Pastoral Aid Society, he made these remarks :—"I say that notwithstanding the new court of law, Ritualism is more rife and more active and more insolent than ever it was before." He goes on to speak of the frequent advocacy of the views of this party in the pulpit, and then he proceeds—

But there is a darker side of the picture than that. The kind of preaching to which I allude is for the most part addressed to adults, and I believe that the minds of the greater portion of the adults revolt from the doctrines which they are constantly hearing from the pulpit. I feel much greater apprehension in reference to the character of the teaching which is given in many of the schools connected with the Church of England; and I say, without fear of contradiction, that in a large proportion of these schools doctrines are inculcated in the minds of children which must eventuate in full-blown Romanism.

You need not wonder, therefore, that there are multitudes of persons in this country who look with great alarm on this bill, because its tendency, whatever its design, is to consign to the hands of the clergy the education of the people of this country. But I will now come to objections that are especially urged by one class of the community in this country—I mean the Nonconformists; for whom, I am afraid, there is not much sympathy felt in this House, although probably there are few gentlemen on this side, who come from England and Wales, who do not in a great part owe their seats here to the influence exercised by the Nonconformists. They are distasteful, but I must ask the kind attention of the House, for I am speaking on behalf and in the name of many millions of my countrymen, who are, I believe, not the worst part of the population of this country, who are as good citizens, as good subjects, as loyal to the Crown, as faithful to the Constitution, as obedient to the laws, as exemplary in the discharge of all their social and civic duties, as any class of the community whatever,—(Hear, hear)—and they are equal sharers in the great work of Christian civilisation going on in the midst of us. (Cheers.) As I stated on a former occasion, they have built and maintained at their own cost 28,000 places of worship in which to carry on the spiritual education of the people of this country, together with all the vast machinery, educational, religious, and charitable, connected with these places. The right hon. gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. Hardy), in the speech he made the other evening, and in a slightly sarcastic spirit as I thought, spoke of the Nonconformists as devoting their money to building chapels and Sunday-schools and not building day-schools, but using those provided by the Church. (Tory cheers.) I may be allowed to say in a parenthesis that if they have used the schools they have had to pay for them; nobody ever heard of the Church offering its education gratuitously. (Hear, hear.) The right hon. gentleman then proceeded to state that the Church maintained these schools without any unfair influence being exerted on the children sent there. He spoke with entire sincerity, as no one of us can have any doubt, but still he was not entirely accurate. In the first place, it must be observed that the popular education of this country began with the Nonconformists. Joseph Lancaster and those that gathered round him were Nonconformists, although in that number was also included many Liberal Churchmen like the Duke of Bedford, and all the house of Russell. The starting of a similar work, due mainly to the noble self-sacrifice of the clergy, which I am never weary of admiring, and which has now grown to such noble proportions, was due to the jealousy and alarm felt at what the Dissenters were doing. (Tory laughter.) The hon. gentlemen laugh; I will give them evidence which they will hardly dispute, for I will give them the evidence of Dr. Bell himself, who was the founder of the national school system. Writing to Dr. Barton, chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, under date March 30, 1807, he says :—

It cannot be dissembled that thousands in various parts of the kingdom are drawn from the Church by the superior attention paid to education out of the Church. The tide is setting fast in one direction, and if not speedily stemmed it may run faster and faster.

Writing again to Mrs. Trimmer—(laughter)—a great light of the Church in those days, and who so far from trimming, was a most violent and bigoted Churchwoman, he said :—

What you say of preventing the spread of this scheme against the Church [that is the Lancasterian schools] is what some years ago occurred to me, and I then said what I shall never cease to repeat, that I know of but one way effectually to check these efforts, and it is by able and well-directed efforts of our own hands. A scheme of education patronised by Church and State, originating in Government aid, and superintended by a member of the Establishment, would most effectually promote our views.

This was the germ of the National School Society. No doubt when the members of the Church of England took the matter in hand earnestly, they very far distanced all competitors, and they had every advantage for doing so. They had wealth and influence to aid them. While we had to build and maintain our chapels, they had the parish churches at their disposition; while we had to maintain our ministers they had national endowments; so that in many parishes they had nothing to do with their money except to build schools. (Laughter and "Hear, hear.") I am very far from wishing to derogate from the great work they were doing; I am always anxious, in this House especially, to express my admiration and respect for the great services rendered to the cause of national education by denominational schools, but even then the representation of the right hon. gentleman the Secretary of State for War is not quite accurate. It is not quite true that we have only been building chapels and Sunday-schools; we have built also a large number of day-schools. In Wales alone we have built between four and five hundred day-schools. Nor was he more accurate when he said that if Nonconformists sent their children to the Church schools no unfair influence was exerted on their minds. On the contrary, I allege that for many years, until the conscience clause was forced upon them, education was steadfastly and systematically employed as an instrument of proselytism. The Church catechism, and the attendance of children at church on Sunday, were *sine qua non* conditions in many cases, for admission into the Church schools. To such an extent was this carried that Dr. Thirlwall, when Bishop of St. Davids—a high-minded and conscientious man, whose mind revolted against the practice—delivered a very severe rebuke to his clergy on the subject in one of his charges, and I ask the attention of the House to the short extract that I am about to read, and of hon. gentlemen who say there is no religious difficulty, because they find they are allowed to teach the catechism to the children of various Dissenting bodies without any objection on the part of the parent. Indeed, this is one of the most inexplicable things I know—how high-minded, honourable Christian gentlemen, like those who make this boast, can look upon that as a reason for congratulation. For what does it mean? It means that they rejoice at being permitted to teach little children lies in the name of religion. For look what it is. You take a little Baptist child and teach him to say he has been regenerated in baptism, when he has never been baptized at all. You take the children of Nonconformists, and make them say that their godfathers and godmothers have promised and vowed certain things for them, when they have no godfathers and godmothers at all. (Laughter.) When you say there is no religious difficulty, I say there ought to be one—if not on the part of the parents, on the part of the teachers and the clergy, to receive them into their schools and teach them to repeat falsehood in the name of religion. Dr. Thirlwall, referring to a poor man, who in the absence of any other means of education for his child but what is afforded by a national school where the teaching of the Church catechism is enforced, sends it there, says,—

Few, I think, will be disposed to condemn him very severely if he yields to such temptation. But in the eyes of a clergyman who attaches supreme value to a "definite, objective, and dogmatic faith," he must appear to be guilty of a breach of the most sacred duty; to be bartering his child's eternal welfare for temporal benefits; to be acting a double part, allowing his child to be taught that which he intends it to unlearn, and to profess that which he hopes it will never believe. Can it be right for a clergyman holding such views to take advantage of the poor man's necessity and weakness for the sake of making a proselyte of the child? Is he not really bribing the father to do wrong, and holding out a strong temptation to duplicity and hypocrisy when he admits the child into his school on such terms? And when he enforces them by instruction which is intended to alienate the children from the father in the irreligious belief, is he not oppressing the poor and needy? I can understand, though I cannot sympathise with it, the rigidity of conscience which closes the school against Dissenters; but I cannot reconcile it with the laxity of conscience which admits them on such terms.

And I cannot. But I am afraid the same spirit is still actively at work, for though I believe that among those who contend for religious education in schools there are many who are perfectly sincere, whose anxiety is genuine, that the children of the people of this country should be brought under Christian influence—(Hear, hear)—and so far, I cordially sympathise with them—(Hear, hear)—though I think they are mistaken in imagining that can be best done by teaching religion in the day school, nevertheless there are many others who by religious education mean in fact ecclesiastical education, and who are much more anxious to make the children good Churchmen than they are to make them good Christians. This is what is said in the monthly paper of the National School Society, and when we read this, need we wonder that Nonconformists should feel jealous at seeing their children pressed and forced into denominational schools?—

In the present condition of Church schools it is more than ever necessary that they should be made nurseries of Church principles. All that is happening in the matter of education is a call to the Church to put out her strength and do valiant battle for her principles in our schools. Our work, then, is to teach children the facts of our religion, the doctrines of our religion, the duties of our religion. We must teach them the facts of our religion that they may be intelligent Christians, not ignorant as heathens; the doctrines that they may not be Christians also, but Churchmen; the duties that they may not be Churchmen only, but communicants. This last, in fact, is the object at which we are uniformly to aim—the training of the young Christian for full communion with the Church, and, as a preliminary to that, a training for confirmation. The whole school time of a child should gradually lead up to this. They ought to know why they should be Churchmen and not Dissenters; why they should go to Church and not to meeting; why they should be Anglicans and not Romanists.

But it is said, "You have the conscience clause to protect you against this great evil." My answer is that the clause is a mockery, a delusion, and a snare. (Laughter and cries of "Oh!") It is repeatedly evaded. (No, no.) Do you believe the testimony of your own Government inspectors? They report frequent violations to the department, though the department, so far as I know, never punish the schools in which violations take place. (Name, name.) In ninety-eight visits of surprise paid by one inspector he found religious instruction given in violation of the time-table in ten cases. But even when the letter of this clause is observed, there is no protection against the spirit being broken. A clergyman has twenty ways of selecting out and branding a little Dissenter. (Laughter.) He is excluded from the church feasts and treats—(Oh, oh)—and prizes may be witheld from him. ("No, no," and "Oh, oh.") I heard lately of a case where the children at a denominational school were formed into guilds called Church Guilds—among which is one called the Guild of St. Timothy—and one of their rules is never to attend service at any place of worship which does not belong to the Church of England. But I distinctly deny your right to subject a poor man, as a condition of his obtaining education and employment for his child, to such a religious test as this. To withdraw his child from the denominational education is a very conspicuous act for a poor man in a country village, and he will hesitate long before doing it, because he knows very well he will incur the displeasure of the squire or the squire's lady. (Oh, oh.) Yet hon. members say there is no religious difficulty. (Cheers.) But if a poor Dissenting labourer has any wrong with regard to the education of his child, a Tory member of Parliament is not the person to whom he is likely to carry his complaint. He is much more likely to go to his own minister, and then it is always open to hon. members opposite to dismiss the testimony of a Dissenting minister with a sneer, and say that he has manufactured the grievance. To all this you must add that there is a furious fanatical spirit of ecclesiasticism abroad, which has taken possession of many of the clergy of the Church of England, and which makes them look with a perfect horror and hatred upon Dissent. What can you think of the things which are continually cropping up in all parts of the country?—What do you think of this advertisement?—

Wanted, at once, 50*l.* to rescue 200 souls from Dissent.

When this came to be inquired into it was found that the object was to establish a Church school in order to supplant a Dissenting school in the district. My hon. friend, the member for Cardigan (Mr. Davies), referred in his speech the other day to a little catechism which he said is used in Wales in Church schools. It is called "A second catechism for the children of the Church. Issued by the Church Extension Society." I ask the House to listen to a few of the questions and answers in this catechism :—

Q. Is there any other reason why you call her Catholic? *A.* Yes, because she teaches all truth, and lasts through all ages. *Q.* How is the Church Apostolic? *A.* Because she was founded by the Apostles, and is governed by those who succeeded them. *Q.* Who have succeeded them? *A.* The bishops, priests, and deacons of the Church. *Q.* Are these three orders of ministry appointed by God? *A.* Yes, and no true Church is without them. *Q.* Why cannot we look for salvation out of the Church? *A.* Because God's promises are only made to His Church. *Q.* Is it not then very dangerous to leave the Church? *A.* Yes, and it is also a very grievous sin. *Q.* What is this sin called? *A.* A schism or division. *Q.* Are we warned against this sin in the Bible? *A.* Yes, St. Paul tells us to mark them which cause divisions, and to avoid them (Conservative cheers). *Q.* What are those who separate from the Church of England commonly called? *A.* Dissenters. *Q.* Are there different sorts of Dissenters? *A.* Yes, Baptists, Independents, Quakers, and many others. *Q.* Is it wrong to join in the worship of Dissenters?—*A.* Yes; we should only attend places of worship which belong to the Church of England. *Q.* Why?—*A.* Because it is the branch of the true Church which God has placed in the land. (Hear, hear.)

Some years ago there was at the head of a normal

college in North Wales a reverend gentleman—and he is there still, I believe, for I have never heard of his being removed—who used to give to the young men papers for examination which contained such things as these :—

Show that the Sacraments as administered by Dissenters must be mere blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits. . . . Dissenting ministers, being merely laymen, there is no promise or warrant for supposing that what they do on earth Christ will do in heaven, or that He will be present to bless their ministrations. What inference do you draw?—No bishop, no church. . . . Show that there is a perfect safety in the English Church, and that to leave her for any other Church or any mere sect must be a most fatal error. Puritan doctrine is popular because it is convenient and comfortable. Church principles are not conformed to this world, and therefore the world hates. Give illustrations. Show from Scripture that a Real Presence is essential to both sacraments. Show that the phrase "Protestant faith," indicates a ridiculous impossibility.

These are the things which were, and for aught I know, are still taught in a normal school in which young people are being trained to conduct schools in the Principality of Wales, where the overwhelming majority are Nonconformists. (Hear, hear.) But it is not the clergy only of whom we have to complain in this matter. I believe that in various parts of this country there are systematic attempts made to stamp out Nonconformity and Methodism in our rural districts. (Hear, hear.) Landlords refuse to let farms or houses to Nonconformists. Dissenting cottagers, if they open their houses for prayer-meetings or other religious services, are harried out of their homes. (Cries of "Name" from the Ministerial benches.) Dissenting servants are dismissed, and dissenting tradesmen lose their custom. (Name.) I read lately a speech delivered by the President of the Wesleyan Conference, the Rev. Gervase Smith, and he says—

To-day there were 2,000 villages in England where there was not perfect religious freedom. He knew instances where wealthy men had been nominated for high civic offices, but because they were Methodists their names had been scratched out. He knew godly men in farming districts who had been driven from their farms because they were Methodists, and he knew men in different parts of the country who because they were Methodists had been obliged to close their shops.

Hon. members opposite ask for instances. Let me give you one or two. Here is the case of a gentleman, a Nonconformist, who saw a house advertised, and applied to the agent. Everything was going on very well until the agent asked him whether he was a Churchman. "No," he said, "I am a Dissenter," "Ah," said the agent, "you had better not apply; you will have no chance of getting it." Here is a letter addressed by a large land-agent in London to a gentleman who applied for a farm in the eastern counties :—

Dear Sir,—The rent, exclusive of tithe to be paid by by the tenant, is 1,200*l.* a year including the seventeen cottages; the drainage rates are paid by the landlord. Shooting is reserved, but the tenant may kill rabbits by trapping or ferretting them when they damage him—(Hear, hear)—but we never had a complaint yet from a tenant.

Then there are some other arrangements of the kind described, till we come to this paragraph :—

It is essential the tenant should be a Churchman, and have 10*l.* an acre of unencumbered capital.

(Laughter.) That letter was written to a Nonconformist who had applied for a farm. Here is another letter written when nearly everything was settled :—

In reply to your letter of the 22nd inst., I write to say that before I put any rent upon my house and land I should be glad to know whether you are a member of the Church of England and a supporter of the Church, also if, in the event of my letting it to you, you will be prepared at an election to support the Conservative party—(laughter)—by voting for them, as I should not feel inclined to let the the houses to anyone who is not a good Churchman and a known Conservative.

(Much laughter.) I have no doubt that these persons are very sincere, and that they are acting up to their consciences, but we object to have our children placed in the power of men who keep such ferocious consciences as these. (Laughter.) Now, some hon. gentlemen think it a strange display of bigotry and intolerance on our part—(Hear, hear)—that we should not want to see our people taken away from us and placed under such influences as those I have described. But let me ask who these people are whom we have thus collected together. They are not people whom we have lured from the Church. They are people who for generations were neglected by the Church, or whom the Church with its utmost efforts had failed to overtake. When our Nonconformist and Methodist forefathers went in search of these people or of their ancestors, they found them, not in the churches, but in the alehouses, in the cockpits, in the bull-rings, in wakes and Sunday fairs, lounging and gambling on the village green, in Cornwall, or in Wales, frequenting scenes of profane and sensual revelry, or wandering over the mountains like sheep without a shepherd, no man caring for their souls. They went forth into the streets and lanes, highways and hedges, and braving the scorn of the educated classes, and the brutal violence of the mob—(Hear, hear)—by infinite labour of body and travail of soul they contrived by the persuasions of Christian love to compel these men to go into what I and they believe to be the Christian fold. (Hear, hear.) We think it is unfair that efforts should be made to take the children of these people out of our hands in order to deliver them into the hands of people who use their utmost efforts to pervert them from the faith of their fathers. And yet because we object to and protest against this you rain upon us a shower of opprobrious epithets. You call us intolerable, narrow and sectarian, though I contend that it is you who are sectarian and not we; and one gentleman in despair of finding within the ordinary resources of the English language any term strong enough to express his detestation and digust for us, felt himself driven to the necessity of coining a new and barbarous word to fling at us; and he says that not only are we intolerable, but that we are "unclubable." (Laughter.) Now, with regard to all these charges there underlies an assumption. The simple truth is this—that members of the Church of England have so long enjoyed the privileges of ecclesiastical ascendancy that they have come to take it for granted that their views in all matters of religion and doctrine, discipline and practice, is the standard of what is right and fitting and proper; and that if any man depart from that standard *ipso facto* he is placed on his defence. Well, for a reformed Church, built on the principle of private judgment and not claiming infallibility, this is rather a strong view to take. Still it is a very natural one, and I do not blame them. I dare say that if I and the Church to which I belong had been placed in the same position of ecclesiastical ascendancy as they have been we should have fallen into the same error, but still you cannot expect us to admit that. We claim the right to exercise our own private judgment and our conscience in all matters of religion, and with all deference to you we refuse to submit our conscience and our judgment to you. (Hear, hear.) Now, let me call attention to one other point which we consider is a great grievance to the Nonconformists in connection with this bill, and this is that they will be excluded virtually from all share in the teaching profession. For observe that in all these denominational schools the teachers must be Church people, and this kind and form of legislation, therefore, practically closes the teaching profession against Nonconformists. Even in regard to board schools and endowed schools which are supposed to be under the protection of a Liberal administration, we are exposed constantly to instances of injustice and unfairness. (Hear, hear.) We had the other day in a *School Board Chronicle*, an advertisement for a mistress for a board school in which it was stated that she must be a Churchwoman. The department was appealed to whether it was legal to require that a master or mistress should belong to a particular denomication, and the answer was that they had no power to interfere. Then there was the case which lately occurred at the Perse Grammar School, where a gentleman who had been educated at the University of Oxford and was an M.A of his college was dismissed from the school by the superior master on the ground that he was a Nonconformist, and therefore, not his social equal. With regard to schools belonging to the Church of England, in any number of the National Society's Magazine advertisements abound, coupling the appointment of master or mistress with rigorous ecclesiastical conditions. Here is one :—

Wanted, a master and mistress for mixed Government school of eighty to 100, agricultural. Must be good Church people. Master must be certificated and able to play small organ in Church.

(Laughter.) Another says :—

Wanted, a master for a mixed school (certificate provisional or otherwise), salary £30, school pence and Government grant. Good Churchman, able to play harmonium in Church occasionally.

(Laughter.) And so we see that in this way the Nonconformists, if there are to be none but denominational schools, and under this bill it is unlikely that there will be any but denominational schools, are entirely excluded from any share in the teaching profession. Now I come to the motion of which I have given notice. (Ministerial cheers)

That, in the opinion of this House, the principle of universal compulsion in education cannot be applied without great injustice, unless provision be made for placing public elementary schools under public management.

The House will see that I proceed upon the assumption that for the State to take powers to compel the children of the people to go to school is a strong measure which cannot be justified unless the State at the same time takes care to provide such schools as shall not trench on the right of conscience and the principles of religious freedom. Now, I am bound to acknowledge that for myself I am not, and never have been, so violently enamoured of the universal compulsion as some of my hon. friends profess to be. (Hear, hear.) I am one of the old-fashioned Liberals who think there may be danger in the State meddling too much in our social and civil life. (Hear, hear) I dislike compulsion everywhere, and most of all in connection with religion and education. It would be far better, in my opinion, to persuade than to compel men, if possible, to send their children to school. (Hear, hear.) When I was in Holland four years ago, I made considerable inquiries into their national system, and I found that this was the plan which was in operation there. The law gives them no compulsory powers, but ladies and gentlemen of influence and of considerable leisure formed themselves into voluntary committees, and visited the habitations of the working classes, and of the poor, and by every kind of argument and remonstrance endeavoured to persuade them to send their children to school. If they pleaded that they were not able to pay the fees, and this statement was found to be well founded, there was a voluntary fund to enable the committee to pay the children's fees, and I was told that the result had been on the whole extremely satisfactory. And certainly if compulsion were only provided in the way described by my hon. friend, the member for Bristol, in that very interesting speech which he made the other day, in which he spoke of how it was administered by himself in connection with a board school, it would partake much more of the character of persuasion than compulsion. But it seems that Parliament and the people of this country are determined to have compulsion in some form. Now all I want is, under that extreme power that you are assuming, to protect the children and those who are not members of the particular denomination to which the schools belong, from any wrong being done to them in conscience. No doubt the best way to secure the end I have in view would be to the establishment of universal school boards and board schools, or else to give power to the new authority which you create under this bill to call such schools into existence where they seem to be rendered necessary by the character of the population. But I am aware, of course, that this is said to be at present impracticable, partly on account of the cost and partly on account of the prejudice which an earnest and unscrupulous propaganda has contrived to create in the minds of many people against school boards. (Hear, hear.) Well, I do not insist upon that, but I proceed on this principle, that denominational schools as they are at present placed, or a large number of them at any rate, cannot, with any show of justice, be regarded as either private or voluntary schools, if by voluntary you mean that they are supported by voluntary contributions. I am told that millions have been raised from private resources in order to establish and maintain these schools; but I can also point to millions that have been lavished upon them out of the public funds. By the last return I find that these so-called voluntary schools have received grants between 1859 and 1875 of close upon fourteen millions of the public money, of which ten and a-half millions have gone to Church of England schools. (Hear, hear.) According to the noble lord the schools are supported in this way: Government grants amount to 1,000,000*l.* a year, children's pence to another 1,000,000*l.*, and the voluntary contributions to over 600,000*l.* There are many schools even now, I believe, up and down the country, which do not require and do not receive one penny from voluntary contributions. All the cost is defrayed from the grants and from the childrens pence, and under this bill these schools will be largely multiplied. I ask is it unreasonable to require that institutions like these, many of which will be altogether supported, and many more of which will be nearly altogether supported out of public resources, should be placed under some public management, especially at a time when you are taking power to force all the children of the country into these schools? I may be told, But people who make this assertion can hardly be sincere, that they are already in public hands, and responsible to the department. (Hear, hear.) That is to say, Her Majesty's inspector pays one formal visit and one informal visit in the course of the year; but that cannot be regarded as any effectual check upon the managers throughout the whole country. (Hear, hear) But you will ask me, What kind of public management do you ask for? Well, take the machinery provided for by this bill—namely, town councils and boards of guardians. No doubt the boards of guardians are in many ways an utterly unsatisfactory authority for educational purposes—their mode of election, is one, which gives the dominant influence to a class who are not immediately or personally interested in the schools; and I am afraid that the *ex-officio* element would prove singularly unfair as regards a liberal and unsectarian education. I agree with my right hon. friend the member for Bradford that the want of rural municipalities is one of our greatest administrative defects. (Hear, hear.) But we have none, and, therefore, I am willing to accept the boards of guardians, for they, at any rate, have some sort of representative character. I ask you to enlarge their authority, to give them power to see that so far as the secular instruction is concerned it is administered at least in accordance with law. Let some representative authority be appointed who shall secure the parent against the extravagances of ritualism or the arbitrariness of clerical government. This is surely not an absurd or extravagant demand that I make. I say "Here you have schools that have ceased to be private or voluntary; they are sustained in great part, and I believe after this bill passes they will be wholly supported out of public sources, out of Parliamentary grants, and children's pence, and yet you propose to deliver into the hands of these institutions the manipulation of the education of all the children of this country without any check or control whatever upon the expenditure of money that is thus entrusted to them" I am afraid that we got into a wrong groove in this matter from the very first. When the State forty years ago began to awake to a sense of its duty, or supposed duty, to take care of the education of the people, instead of taking the matter into its own hands, as it ought to have done, it chose to consign it into the hands of certain voluntary societies which it found already in existence; and I believe, with the right hon. gentleman the member for the University of London, that the Government did not in any

degree discharge its duty by delegating it, not to persons chosen by themselves, but to any number of persons who came forward to found schools. We got into a wrong groove at that time, and we have been getting deeper and deeper into embarrassment ever since. When we reconstructed, in some degree, our system in 1870, I regret that advantage was not taken of that opportunity, without doing any injustice to voluntary schools—for I would not have them wronged in any way—to lay the foundation, at any rate, of what should be a real system of national education. (Cheers.) I contend national education is national work, if any work can be called national; and I desire that Government should undertake to do what they can do of that work without trenching on any man's liberty or violating any man's conscience, looking to it that a good, sound, thoroughly efficient secular education is given in the schools, and then throwing the responsibility, as they have a right to throw it, of the religious instruction upon the churches that claim to be divinely-appointed institutions for the training of the people in religious doctrine and practice. If by this co-operation, all classes of the community could be brought to unite in this blessed work, then we might hope before long to find not only an instructed but a moral, religious, and Christian population. (Hear, hear). I beg, sir, to move the resolution I have read. (Cheers).

Mr. E. JENKINS seconded the motion. He assured the House that in undertaking to address it upon this question, and particularly from the point of view which he took, in common with his hon. friend who had just sat down, he felt most acutely the difficulty under which they laboured. They were facing a hostile majority in the House. A discussion had already taken place on that bill, in which the principles against which they were contending had been practically admitted; and worse than all that for them there were upon their own side, upon the seats behind them and upon their front benches, those who sympathised with some of the objects of the bill. Therefore he could not but feel, in rising to address the House, that it might be true that the principles which were established by the right hon. gentleman the member for Bradford in 1870, were principles which had received the general acceptance of those who had since then held the government of the country; but he held that to be no reason why at every stage at which it was attempted, either to re-assert or to crystallise the principles that were then laid down, they who disagreed with these principles, though they might be in a conspicuous minority in Parliament, should not enter their protest against them. It would be admitted that if in that House questions were only to be raised when there was a reasonable expectation of bringing these questions to a hopeful issue, then the House might as well adjourn never to meet again. In seconding this motion, he would speak with great frankness, and possibly he might be obliged to say some things which would not be received with favour on the other side, but he trusted he should be able to avoid saying anything that could wound the susceptibilities of any hon. member in this House. They were asked by the Government to approve the course which they were about to adopt, and let them ask themselves what is that course? I take it, it is a course that is intended to discourage the right of local supervision over the expenditure of public money. It was a course which was intended—or, at all events whether it was intended or not—it was calculated to put off for a long period the creation and maintenance of an efficient and permanent economic system of education. It was intended, or, at all events, it was calculated to, and certainly would operate, to perpetuate and enhance an injustice which arises out of a protection and aid given to sectarian interests out of public money. It was calculated, whether intended or not, to maintain an injurious religious supremacy, one that was injustice in itself, hat was inconsistent with the principles of the age in which they lived, with the teachings of history, and with the bold tendencies of a free and enlightened people. On reading over the bill brought in by Her Majesty's Government he thought he had been able to notice in it not only their zeal for education but their political and religious proclivities. Their zeal for religious education was indicated by the single clause in which indirect compulsion was proposed as the remedy for educational difficulties, and their political and religious enthusiasm he held to be evidenced by the rest of the bill. There was all the more reason that the discussion now taking place should be held, seeing that since the time the member for Sheffield moved his amendment on the second reading of the bill some significant circumstances had occurred. In the first place, and on the one side, from every Liberal body in the country, and from every religious body, except the Roman Catholics, disconnected with the Church of England, there had come forth a loud and emphatic protest against the bill—(Hear, hear)—while on the other hand, meetings had been held, and resolutions passed, and amendments had been placed on the notice-paper of that House, which were of a very significant character, as indicating what were the aims and objects, he did not say of Her Majesty's Government, but of those who were supporting the Government. These amendments were put forward by the so-called friends of religious education. He did not use the words "so-called" in any sense of detraction, but because he held it was unfair for them to arrogate to themselves the exclusive right to assume that title. The hon. member went on to say: I venture to claim that there are some of us on this side of the House who may also be friends of religious education. (Hear, hear.) A man may be a friend of religion and religious education when he has sufficient faith in it to believe that by its own inherent force, or by the zeal and sacrifices of those who maintain it, it can be carried home to people's hearts without the assistance of money from the public pocket. Yet there were proposals which had come from hon. members on the Conservative side of the House for the insertion in the Bill of clauses which would enforce in all the public elementary schools the teaching of certain creeds and formularies of religion. It seemed a singular thing that, whilst in all other communities the revolt of human intelligence against the interference of Government in the domain of conscience was being maintained, here in England, which claimed to be the freest of all free lands, we had a Government which endeavoured to enforce principles which were entirely contrary to the principles and feelings of modern progress. He could not but think that this was a critical period, not only in the history of education, but also in the history of this nation. If this bill were passed we should have what he could not but feel to be an injurious and mischievous, as well as unpractical system of education. He could not blame hon. members opposite if they took advantage of their majority for the purpose of maintaining principles which he was sure they conscientiously held, but, at the same time, they (the supporters of Mr. Richard) protested and warned them that the system they were about to crystallise and re-infuse must before long be swept away to make room for some system more equitable and practicable. In the United States of America, where the diversities of religious sects were certainly not as sharply defined as in other parts of the world, they were now beginning in high quarters to speak of separating secular education given by the State for the religious education which was to be given by the churches. And if, in a country where the difficulties arising from the establishment of a State religion are not felt, it was found to be practically impossible to work out with anything like a concurrence of all the citizens an education based upon some commonly accepted creed, what must it be in this country where all our differences were so sharply defined, where sect looked sect in the face with hostile aspect, and where, altogether, things were more likely to become worse instead of better in regard to the sharp definition of difference. He would like to see a day when all might agree in some form of religious instruction which might be carried on without risk of interference with the liberties of the subject; but it seemed to him to be impossible, owing to the spread of intelligence and the activity of modern thought, and, worse than all, the impracticable professions of pontificialists and sacerdotalists, that there should even be a common agreement on this subject. It was for this reason that he entered his protest against the further passage of the bill. They could not but be doing their duty in taking this opportunity of bringing before the country the arguments against and objections to the system inaugurated in 1870, and the wrongs and perils of the course now being pursued by the Government. Every day these wrongs were becoming more patent, and though now the Government might be able to carry this bill, and might suppose they had established its principles, a time would come when defeat would be all the more certain and sure. There was no error in politics and legislation which did not work its own revenge, and the temporary success of an erroneous policy must only make its ultimate confutation the more disastrous and complete. Before he said a few words on the religious aspect of the bill he wished to draw the attention of the House to its economical and practical consequences. In its political aspect the bill was a solecism. It created distinctions between people living in different parts of the country. In school-board districts, those who were interested in education, could, under the wide franchise which the school-board system conferred, have some voice in the appointment of those who were to regulate that education. But in agricultural districts there would be appointed to this duty those who were in no sense the representatives of the people directly interested in the education to be given. Under the school-board system, and even under a system managed by town councils, the franchise was so wide, and the working-men had so direct an interest and voice in their election, that he could understand their readily assenting to a compulsion in the imposition of which they themselves had a part; but in country districts where the agricultural labourer or miner had no part in elections of boards, what hope was there of success in enforcing compulsion in which those directly interested had no voice and no sympathy? The violation of principles of national economy and national administration which were involved in this bill were glaring and indefensible. He would like to know in what other cases the Government asked private companies to undertake a duty like this with only occasional inspection, with only occasional checks on expenditure, with no efficiency, with positive carelessness, if not fraud, in the mode of spending the public money, and with manifest favouritism to one particular denomination. His charges against the denominational system were simple and straightforward. They were based upon reports and returns which had been presented to the House, and he could furnish the proofs in detail if required. He said the standard of education results under the denominational system were not only inferior to the education given in the board schools, but utterly ineffective to meet the just aims and expectations of a great national system of education. The standard of results, such as it was, was attained at an unnecessary cost and this cost was increasing. In 1868 and 1869 the cost per head of the education of children in average attendance at the denominational schools was 26s. In 1875 it had risen to 31s. 6d. In board schools it was only 20s. 6d. Over a million was being paid to what he might call private contract schools, whilst the sum paid to board schools was only £75,130, and more significant than all, out of two and a-half millions who ought to be at school, and out of the million and over who were supposed to attend school, only 508,000, or about one-fifth of the whole, had been able to pass an examination through all the standards. But there was another point. Denominational schools frequently received more than they earned, as appeared from recent reports of the school-board managers at Salford and other places, and the reports of the Government inspector for Hants, in which the carelessness of the accounts kept by school managers was commented upon. Lastly, there was no warranty that even the time-table conscience clause was respected by teachers and managers. In support of this statement, he quoted from the report of Mr. Brodie a statement of the results of some of his surprise visits, and that inspector's words that "there were plenty of signs that the denominational system tends to become a mere scramble for public money." It would, therefore, appear that the issue before the House was one of practical consequence. The question was whether it was worth while to pay half so much as an efficient education administered by a public body would cost, to a body of irresponsible directors for a bad education with the object of giving to certain sects increased facilities for religious and political propagandism. Quoting from a manifesto of the National Society in which the national schools of England were declared to be the training ground of English Churchmen, and in which teachers were urged to give every child some training in the theology of the Church as well as in the secular elements, in order that the people might become loyal to their spiritual mother and her champions in her hour of danger, he said if these were the motives of Churchmen for supporting this bill, it was not to be wondered at that the other half of creation should have no sympathy with its objects. The proposition to give increased grants, which it was admitted would chiefly benefit denominational schools, involved, when it was considered that it was to come out of the general taxation of the country, an almost criminal injustice. He had a paper which was presented to a meeting of the National Union, at which the Archbishop of Canterbury was chairman, and in that paper it was declared that, "On the general grounds of religious liberty, the Union maintained that it was a grievance that Churchmen should be compelled, by the payment of rates, to sustain schools of whose religious teaching they disapproved, or schools which were virtually training their scholars to deny those eternal truths which were felt by Church people and others to be the only true basis of religious teaching. This payment, the committee affirmed, was a direct violation of religious liberty as asserted by the Legislature when abolishing the Church rates. It was not surprising that the meeting of bishops and clergymen generally should have decided that the report should be taken as read. The idea of suggesting, as it was suggested here, that the ground upon which this claim was put forth was that same ground upon which they were able to abolish Church rates in England was untenable. There was such a thing as consistency, and hon. members opposite could do a great deal with consistency. But what was the consistency of a party who refused to abolish Church rates in Scotland and consented to abolish them here. What would be the principles of a party who would send children to a school where those eternal principles were denied which they believed. There was one question which he would venture to ask hon. gentlemen opposite, and which he would ask them carefully to put on their consciences. Suppose that on the morrow a single denominational school of this country had been connected to a Roman Catholic school taught by priests even with the assistance of conscience clause. He put it to hon. gentlemen opposite, would they, under these circumstances, support this bill? He could imagine the right hon. gentlemen opposite, when he went into division lobby, assailed by hon. friends from Ireland who were in favour of denominational education, and he could fancy him slipping his arm into that of the hon. member for Louth, and saying, "My dear Sullivan, you have assisted us this year in passing this bill; we will bring in a bill on the same lines for Ireland." The House knew that was an impossibility. Yet how could they deny to Ireland what they took for England? If this bill passed, as he hoped it would do, he, as a true Liberal, should feel obliged to give to Ireland what England had got for herself. He had not said anything at which hon. gentlemen opposite could be justly offended, and he hoped no hon. gentleman would get up and throw at him, or the party about him, the taunt that they on this side were associating themselves with socialists and infidels, that they did not desire State education, but were mere sectarian bigots. They threw back the taunt, and he would say with diffidence, but with truth, that with regard to the dogmas of the Church of England that they on his side of the House held as intelli-

gent an appreciation as those on the opposite side. He could enjoy the ritual of the Church of England; he could enter into her communion; and his child lay in a churchyard, laid there by his own will, and interred by an Anglican minister, with the beautiful service of that Church. It could not be said that those on his side of the House were animated by sectarian bigotry; but he must enter his protest against passing this bill, because he believed it was inconsistent with the simple principle of civil and religious liberty. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. HUBBARD argued that no education was of value without religion, and complained of the intolerance which would refuse public assistance to denominational schools. Mr. GREENE, who also spoke in favour of religious education, deprecated too frequent reference to topics which only embittered the controversy, although he sympathised entirely with the Nonconformists' objection to intrust their children to the teaching of Ritualistic clergymen.

Mr. A. M'ARTHUR said the Education Act of 1870 would have pleased him much better if it had been more national and less denominational in its provisions. Yet he had advocated the policy of endeavouring not to injure or retard denominational schools already existing, unless where they were condemned as inefficient. But not to injure or retard denominational schools, and to still further encourage, assist, and endeavour to increase and perpetuate them, were very different courses of action, and the latter course appeared to him to be the direct tendency, if not the direct design, of the bill. The eloquent speech of the Minister for War would have dispelled any doubt on the question, and it determined several Opposition members to vote against the bill. School boards, notwithstanding the determined opposition they had encountered, had been almost universally successful where they had been established, and had not only succeeded in getting hundreds of thousands of once utterly neglected children into their own schools, but had also largely increased the attendance at denominational schools. Nor was he prepared to admit that the cost had been extravagant, whatever might be urged to the contrary; indeed, when they remembered the expensive sites that had to be purchased, frequently under compulsion, that school-houses had to be erected during a period when both labour and material were unusually high, and that the whole of the machinery for efficient school board work had to be created, the wonder was that a larger expenditure had not been incurred. But, even if the cost were greater than it actually had been, he believed that it would have represented a wise, judicious, and in the end, an economical expenditure of public money; and, considering that school boards had not yet been six years in existence, they might well be astonished at and thankful for the marked progress they had made and the work they had accomplished. He believed the School Board for London, of which he was once a member, had not erected a single school which was not proved by statistics to be required, and which was not sanctioned by the Education Department; and he thought it would be admitted that, in a rapidly-increasing town like Leicester, the accommodation provided was by no means excessive, and would in a short time be found insufficient. It would, therefore, be a penny-wise and pound-foolish policy not to make some allowance for the rapid increase that was going on. To judge merely by average attendances at schools was very fallacious. The attendance was much larger at some times than at others, just as it was at churches and other places. An outbreak of measles or scarlatina, the hop-picking season, or some interruption of that kind, would make a serious difference. For an average attendance of 300 children the Educational Department held that 400 places should be provided, and the school boards were compelled by the Act to make such provision. Then, with regard to the greater amount of grant earned in voluntary schools, comparisons of that kind as every one who studied the question must admit, were useless and unfair. The noble lord (Lord R. Montagu) had informed the House that in Nonconformist schools—including, it was presumed, British and Wesleyan schools—the amount earned was 13s. 0¼d.; in Roman Catholic schools, 12s. 10¾d.; in Church schools, 12s. 8¼d.; and in Board schools, 11s. 5¼d. But they must not lose sight of the fact that denominational school children had been in regular attendance and were of a higher class than board school children were. Many of the latter had been street arabs, or gutter children, who, when gathered into schools, were utterly ignorant, undisciplined, and difficult to control or manage; therefore, to compare them with children of denominational schools who had had vastly superior advantages both at home and at school was very unfair, and was useless for the purpose the House had in view. There was another fact deserving of notice: the noble lord had told the truth, but not the whole truth. The fact was that, taking the last year but one, ended the 31st of August, 1874, the grant earned in board schools in London was only 6s. 3d. per head, whereas in the following year, ended the 31st of August, 1875, it had risen to 10s. 11½d., thus showing a rapid and very gratifying improvement. He might add that the certainty of school board children not being able to secure much of the Government grant was clearly perceived by many voluntary school managers and masters, and that after the formation of the school board of London, when the board had no schools of their own, they did their utmost to force the children into denominational schools, and to fill the vacant places of which so much had been said. But the board soon discovered that they were engaged in a very difficult and thankless task, and that there was the greatest reluctance on the part of the voluntary schools to receive such children, partly because they feared that some parents of the better class might object to their children being associated with street Arabs, and, perhaps still more, because those voluntary schools foresaw that the introduction of such children would lower the standard of the school and reduce the average amount of the grant to be received. In order to avoid this, the school fees were raised, in some instances nearly doubled, and all sorts of objections were made with a view to the exclusion of these "gutter children." And now what had been clearly foreseen and carefully guarded against was brought forward as an argument to show the inferiority of board schools. (Hear, hear.) The greater cost of board schools in London might also be accounted for by the fact that the balance-sheets in the first year of their existence contained no Government grant, and that all the temporary schools, having to be provided with furniture, books, and apparatus, paid for out of the current account, were much more costly than the permanent schools. But the net cost was diminishing half-year by half-year, as children were induced to pay better fees, and as the Government grant became higher. If this bill passed in its present form it would render the future extension of school boards difficult, if not impossible, and would still further promote the interests of denominational schools; indeed, it would enable many of these schools to be altogether independent of any voluntary aid. Some of them were so at present, and he had heard of four instances in which a surplus was secured. It would also enable rate-supported schools in many rural districts to become as sectarian and as denominational as any schools were at present. He believed unfair means had been adopted in many instances to prevent the establishment of school boards; that the conscience clause had not always been faithfully acted upon; and that in some cases the law had been broken, or, while its letter had been kept, its spirit had been, he was going to say, shamefully violated. At first the policy was to endeavour to prevent the establishment of school boards, where it was possible to do so; but latterly a different and more objectionable policy had been adopted. Great efforts had been made and undue influences used to obtain a board even in places where ample school accommodation already existed, but where a sufficient number of managers favourable to denominational teaching could be secured. Denominational schools were then let to the board, the hour from nine to ten in the morning being reserved by the former managers for any catechism to be taught or any religious instruction to be given. The schools were, therefore, just as denominational as they had been before, with this important addition—that the protection of the conscience clause could be dispensed with and the schools were supported by the rates. Remonstrances to the education department only produced the reply that the law had not been broken. He disapproved of the proposal to substitute town councils and boards of guardians for school boards, because whatever might be the case with town councils, the farmers, as a class, cared very little about education, and were very little disposed to tax themselves for this purpose. Having quoted the remarks made on the education of the children of agricultural labourers by farmers at a meeting at Guildford, the hon. member said he pitied the poor children who were dependent upon such guardians for their education. Another objection to giving this power to guardians and town councillors was that some of the school boards had working-men upon them, who were not the least valuable of the members. Town councils and boards of guardians were, however, elected upon a property qualification, and therefore, working-men, whose presence upon school boards was a satisfaction to the working-classes, would be excluded from these bodies. The noble lord (Sandon) had rendered valuable services to the London School Board while a member of it, and he was the last man to whom improper motives could be attributed. But whatever might have been the intention of the framers of this bill, its effect would be to encourage and perpetuate denominational schools, and it would not, therefore, meet the necessities of the case, or do the best that might have been done for the children of this country. Before sitting down he wished to refer to the warm and indignant reply of the hon. member for Berks (Mr. Walter) who had been called forth by some observations which had fallen from the hon. member for Birmingham (Mr. Dixon). The hon. member for Berks had deprecated the introduction of the religious element into this question, and said he had read with great regret a certain document containing a remonstrance against this bill. He also required an answer, and in his opinion, it would have been better not to agitate such questions as that raised. The hon. member argued that there was no religious difficulty, and attributed the remonstrances to which reference was made to party and political purposes. On behalf of himself, a large number of friends, and a still larger number of other persons throughout the country, he repudiated these imputations altogether. He had no unfriendly feeling towards the Church of England, or any other denomination in the country. There were many Church of England clergymen whom it has been his pleasure and his privilege to know, and with whom he was still associated in various ways. They were men for whom he entertained the greatest respect and esteem. There were many whose ministry he would just as soon attend as that of the church to which he belonged; many whose instruction he should be glad to have his children receive, and to whose schools he should be willing to send them, but there were many denominational schools to which he should be very sorry to send them, or to send any child over which he had any control. The hon. member read a letter from a Nonconformist clergyman, acknowledging a cheque in support of his schools, and said that he had never entertained any but friendly feelings towards Dissenters. This would be readily admitted, and it would be well for the Church of England if many more of her members could say the same. But the hon. member went on to say that it would be well if those who were so ready to find fault in regard to education would be more consistent in their applications for help to build their schools. But he (Mr. M'Arthur) hoped the House did not suppose that such applications came only from Nonconformists. Many of them were in the habit of receiving such appeals from Churchmen, and even sometimes from Church clergymen and curates, who were often so miserably paid and so terribly overworked, that they found it difficult, if not almost impossible, to educate their children, dress respectably, and live in comfort. He thought he might also say that when those appeals were made they were responded to according to the ability of hon. members on that side of the House, although, of course, he did not say that there was any particular credit to be attached to any party for that. Perhaps he might be permitted to read at least one letter, although of a rather different character, on this subject. It was as follows:—

Lower Norwood, May, 1876.

We are very anxious to secure a thousand pounds before Michaelmas to enable us to begin a mission in a large and poor population sunk in infidelity and sin here. Will you kindly send at least 1*l.* towards this work, which has the sanction of our diocesan.

That, unfortunately, was sent to the deacon of an Independent church in the locality—but he would not trouble the House with the whole correspondence. Perhaps also he might refer to a catechism published by a reverend vicar in Essex for the use of families and schools, in which the children were taught that the various sects and denominations which came under the head of Dissenters must be regarded as heretics who worshipped God according to their own evil and corrupt imaginations, and not according to His revealed will, and that their worship was in direct opposition to God. He did not think that teaching of that kind was very well calculated to promote friendly feelings between Nonconformists and Churchmen in that House, and when the charge of intolerance was bandied in that way, it must be evident to the House that if there was intolerance it was not to be found all on one side of the House. But they were told that the conscience clause would protect the child and prevent any unfair advantage from being taken. He was perfectly willing to admit that the conscience clause was frequently fairly acted upon, but he was equally certain that very frequently it was the reverse, and that the law was, if not broken, at all events evaded. They all knew that almost every week brought to light some case in which this was illustrated—some case like that referred to by his hon. friend the member for Merthyr, which roused the just indignation and contempt of every lover of fair play and civil and religious liberty in this land. They disapproved of caste in India, and were endeavouring to break it down, because they believed it to be injurious to commerce, civilisation, and Christianity; but if they might judge from the correspondence which had taken place in the Perse case, no Brahmin in India ever clung with greater tenacity to his caste, or determined more positively to avoid all communication with any Dissenting brother than he had done. Yet with all these things staring them in the face, they were told that there was no religious difficulty. How any hon. member could say so, he could not understand. But there was a religious difficulty, and one for which Nonconformists were not responsible. He believed that the character maintained in former days by the Established Church of this country, of being the great bulwark of Protestant Christianity in this land, could not be sustained by, at all events, a considerable section of her ministers and people during the present day, and on that point he might also be permitted to give some little illustration. Reference was made by his hon. friend the member for Merthyr to the catechism published by the Church Extension Association. He was not going to detain the House by reading extracts from it, but he would just say that in that catechism it was plainly taught that they need not look for salvation out of the Church; the infallibility of the Church's teaching; the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Eucharist; and the necessity of confession and absolution. It was men who held and taught such doctrines that caused a great deal of the unpleasant feeling and the religious difficulty. (Hear, hear.) Hon. gentlemen opposite professed to be very zealous for Protestantism, and he hoped that they would show that they were indignant when they heard of such doctrines as those he had

referred to. Perhaps he might be allowed to quote the opinion of a highly respectable bishop of the Church of England on that subject. The Bishop of Sydney was in this country a few years ago, and after returning to the colony, and when addressing the Church Society, composed of his own clergy and the Church members, he said that the Church of England's disregard of all solemn obligation did appear to him inexplicable. Her adoption of Roman phraseology and practices and power of sympathy with Romanism and contempt of the Reformation are totally inconsistent, as it appeared to him, with an honest adherence to the Church of England. He (Mr. M'Arthur) repeated that it was not surprising that the Nonconformists in this country should object to send their children to schools where such doctrines are taught and such principles inculcated. The hon. member also commended to the consideration of the House the concluding paragraphs of the Rev. Henry Bowden's letter in *The Times* on Friday last. He could understand those who from conscientious conviction went over to the Roman Catholic Church, or any other church, but it was difficult to understand the honour or honesty of men who, while professing themselves to be clergymen of the Established Church and eating her bread, were sapping her foundations, and leading astray her youth from the principles which they were brought up. (Hear, hear.) He trusted that this, at all events, would be some excuse for the opposition that was offered to this bill, and that while such a state of things continued to exist, there must and ought to be a religious difficulty, and nothing short of one school board or undenominational school in every district would satisfy the reasonable demand of Nonconformists in this country. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. S. MORLEY said the principle affirmed in this amendment was that there should be protection for Nonconformist parents who might object to the teaching of Church schools, and he should be thankful to see a disposition on the part of Churchmen to meet them in this matter. He was no advocate for the exclusion of the Bible from the schools, nor of a sectarian system of teaching. The people, he thought, had settled that question. He did not believe that of our large population there was more than a fractional part favourable to the extension of exclusively secular education. (A Voice: Birmingham.) Birmingham was a striking exception, and he was rather surprised at that town accepting the system adopted by its board. But he was prepared to say, with some slight knowledge of the opinions of working men, that while amidst the conflicts of sects they got sick of the controversy on religious teaching, there was no objection on their part to the honest, fair, and simple use of the Bible in schools by teachers who would not prostitute their opportunities in order to enforce denominational education. He had an extract from the National Society's monthly organ for February, 1872, which threw some light on the directions given by the National Society to their teachers. It said—

> There is need now more than ever that our teachers should be more thoroughly fitted for the religious side of their work; they should not only be religious people, but sound Church people. Is it too much to hope that the Church will furnish an abundant supply of devout young people who will give themselves earnestly to the work of school teaching in the belief that there is no more effective way of benefiting their fellow-creatures than by giving them a sound education in the theology of the Church of England.

Again in August, 1872:—

> In the present condition of Church schools it is more than ever necessary that they should be made the nurseries of Church principles. This is the object at which we should aid—the training of the young Christian for full communion, and, as a preliminary to that, a training for confirmation. The whole school time of a child should lead up to this.

This language, when addressed to Church schools in the City of London, where we had abundance of schools for the people to choose from, and where the children attending the school were connected with the Church, might be very natural; but in the country villages, where the poor were to be subjected for the first time to a special system of compulsion, we had a right to ask for protection for them from such training. The parent, who is exposed to that training, and who conscientiously objects to it, should have the right of appeal, not to the Committee of Council on Education, or by deputation to the Lord President, but to some local power which could interpose and effectually protect him in the training of his children. (Hear, hear.) He had not the slightest doubt that in many of our villages the conscience clause was a dead letter. He deliberately expressed the opinion that people dared not expose themselves to the fear of social consequences if in a small village they availed themselves of the conscience clause and withdrew their children from religious teaching. He did know a village where, out of 135 who attended the national school, upwards of 100 withdrew from the teaching of the catechism, but that was because it had been made clear to them that they were at liberty to do it, and that no consequences could possibly ensue by their taking such a course. Reference has been made to the religious teaching in the board schools of London. That teaching was based on a resolution moved by the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P.), seconded by himself (Mr. Morley), and adopted almost unanimously, and was now in operation. The resolution was as follows:—

> That in the schools provided by the board the Bible shall be read, and there shall be given such explanations and such instruction therefrom in the principles of morality and religion as are suited to the capacities of children, provided always—
>
> 1. That in such explanations and instruction the provisions of the Act in Sections 7 and 14 be strictly observed, both in letter and spirit, and that no attempt be made in any such schools to attach children to any particular denomination.
>
> 2. That in regard of any particular school the board shall consider and determine upon any application by managers, parents, or ratepayers of the district who may show special cause for the exception of the school from the operation of this resolution, in whole or in part.

Upon the character of the teaching in the schools, he asked permission to read a few lines from the inspector's (Mr. Noble's) report:—

> Since the adoption of the regulation fixing the time at which the Bible should be read and explained, I have observed considerable uniformity in the mode in which teachers have acted upon their instructions. A chapter is read either by the head teacher, or the children in the upper class of the school, and then such "explanation and instruction" are given as are "suited to the capacities of the scholars." This instruction is in no way less reverentially imparted than in voluntary schools, and I have observed no desire on the part of a teacher in any instance to shirk this essential part of his duty. It is but just to say of all our teachers, that they seem to be fully impressed with the importance of this part of their work, and, at the same time, are anxious to avoid the violation of the board regulations and the Act of Parliament by giving this teaching a denominational colour. In infants' schools, exactly the same practice is followed as in denominational schools; the teacher selects a text of Scripture, which she explains and illustrates in a manner that the children can understand.

On this subject of religious teaching in schools and the desirability of concession, he quoted from a letter he had received a few days before from a clergyman of the Church of England, who said,—

> It is my strong conviction that any enlargement and consolidation of denominational education will henceforth tend to narrowness and to the hurtful increase of sacerdotal influence. The great wealth and organisation of the Roman Catholic and Episcopal churches will enable them through denominational schools to obtain great entrenched camps of the future. If the Government could be induced to assist one kind of school only, viz., a true national school in which the Bible shall be read and taught, I believe the further greatness and harmony of England would be promoted.

He was assured that not a few of the clergy largely shared this opinion. He understood the object of the amendment was to appeal to Churchmen to meet them in this matter. He believed if the catechism were excluded from the day school and reserved for its proper place—the Sunday-school, or reserved for special hours in one or two days of the week—a great deal of the difficulty would be got rid of, and he was certain that there were hon. members opposite who were as indisposed to press upon the consciences and judgment of those whom they were seeking to benefit as any on the Liberal side of the House. He might mention, as showing the feeling of the working classes on this point that at a very recent meeting of the London School Board two deputations were received. One consisted of the Rev. R. T. West and the Rev. D. Moore, who presented a memorial objecting to the board holding a transferred mission-hall school, on the ground that provision for the all children would be made otherwise than by board schools, and asking to have the mission-hall retransferred to adenomination. It was stated that the denominations had raised a large sum of money to supply any deficiency. This deputation was introduced by Mr. Mills, M.P., and the Rev. Dr. Irons. The second deputation consisted chiefly of labouring men—one in the uniform of a railway porter—and they were headed by Admiral Fishbourne, who stated that the mission-hall was built ten years ago to fill a want in the district, and the school had always been well maintained in regard to numbers of children, and the sum received from the Government grant showed a high state of efficiency. When the Act was passed the supporters who subscribed to the school could not afford to pay the rates and subscribe too, and so the school was transferred to the board with the perfect satisfaction of the parents, who desired that the religious teaching should be unsectarian, such as was taught in the board schools. The objection to the mission-hall school came from Dr. West, of the Ritualistic church, and the speaker begged to state that if the board listened to the parochial clergy who had waited upon them, and shut up the school, the original trustees would carry it on, for the parents would not subject the children to the teaching of Ritualistic churches, and they all regarded this action of the parochial clergy in endeavouring to close the school as a piece of ecclesiastical tyranny. This showed the feeling of the working classes in regard to the religious education as given in the London board schools. He felt that we were under great obligations to the clergy of the Established Church for their services, and no word had ever passed his lips which was otherwise than respectful towards them, and mindful of the sacrifices they had made. But we had come now to a point at which he believed it would be the best policy of the Established Church to make some substantial concession in this matter, and he maintained that in the reading and teaching of the Bible there was every possible guarantee for the religious teaching of the school. He especially appealed to the noble lord the Vice-President of the Council to lend his aid in this matter. He was persuaded that if something was not done we should have an embittered controversy which would only end in the establishment of secular schools, a result which he personally would regard with extreme disfavour. It would eliminate from education the really honest religious element and the inculcation of truths universally held amongst us. He believed with one of our bishops that if half-a-dozen men on each side of the controversy were to go into a room and spend an hour or two in considering the matter, the one condition being that they were all in favour of religious education, they would be able to decide on such a system of religious teaching as would meet the fair necessities of the case. He hoped the noble lord would aid by endeavouring to influence those who were unreasonable on both sides. The principle of religious liberty was infringed if any parent was compelled from fear of consequences to subject his child to religious teaching to which he had conscientious objections. He thought he might venture to say that his right hon. friend would confirm this. He was prepared to defend the system of religious teaching of the London board schools, and could point to the recent examinations for the gratifying results of the system there pursued. He had no expectation that his hon. friend would be able to carry his motion, but he hoped he would divide the House, for he regarded it as a protest against the embittered controversy to which the bill would give rise, and therefore he would give it his support. (Cheers.)

Mr. HALSEY, speaking as the chairman of a school board in a rural district, though he admitted that school boards would furnish a satisfactory solution of many difficulties, preferred the machinery of the bill to the compulsory establishment of these bodies all over the country.

Mr. COWPER-TEMPLE condemned the intolerance of Mr. Richard, which for the extravagance of a few Ritualists would punish the 12,000 voluntary schools of the country. He defended the operation of the conscience clause, which, while it secured secular education for all the children of the district, at the same time provided religious for those of the denomination to which the school belonged. He ridiculed the idea of proselytism, and denied that the Dissenters had made out any grievance. On the contrary, by seeking to drive the country into secularism and to curtail the freedom of religious teaching, Mr. Richard would establish a grievance in the opposite direction.

Mr PAGET having spoken in support of the bill,

Mr. MUNDELLA said he never would be a party to the exclusion of the Bible from the schools; but, on the other hand, he would not join hon. gentlemen opposite in attempting to enforce what they called the minimum of religious instruction in schools. As a result of school boards, there were now more children receiving religious instruction, and a better, than before the boards were established. (Cries of "Birmingham.") He was not there to defend Birmingham. They should wait for that till the hon. member took his seat. But they talked about 7,000 children at Birmingham; why, at Sheffield, there were twice that number now receiving religious education who before had none. He did not entirely agree with the resolution, because the words "public management" were both ambiguous and embarrassing, and meant where they stood a great deal more than the hon. member put into his speech. He did not propose to interfere with voluntary schools but only to submit them to public supervision, and with that principle he must agree. As to the religious difficulty, it really arose only in the rural districts. It was partly met by the Government amendments; those of the right hon. gentleman the member for Bradford went still further to protect the poor man, and by enforcing the conscience clause in spirit as well as in letter, and working together heartily and charitably in committee, he believed they would make a good and useful measure of the bill.

Mr. HALL declared that the amendment really meant universal compulsion, and for that reason would not be acceptable. There was nothing the ordinary and average Englishman hated and abominated more than the very name of school boards. ("Oh, oh," and cheers.) He associated with it every kind of useless extravagance, a great deal of petty tyranny, and a great deal, also, of possible godlessness and irreligion. He was very grieved that the bill did not make a stronger stand on this point of irreligion, and in committee very strenuous efforts would be made to remove the reproach that it should be possible for any school board to insist upon a non-religious system of education.

The Marquis of HARTINGTON, who was received with cheers, said he had no doubt whatever that religious sects were animated to a considerable extent by religious animosity and religious bigotry. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) He had no doubt that that religious bigotry was manifested in many relations in life, and that cases of the persecution of Dissenters by members of the Church of England had some existence in fact. He had no doubt again that there did exist in the midst of the Church of England a party who held opinions and who entertained sentiments which were altogether at variance with the principles of the Reformation; but it seemed to him that all these were questions upon which they had not to decide that night. (Hear, hear.) What they had to decide that night seemed to him to be this—whether it was possible for the State to impose such checks upon the injudicious action of certain persons as would enable the State to make use of the educational energy and vast educational resources which were possessed by the various denominations, and most of all by the

Church of England, without in any degree endangering the religious liberty or freedom of conscience of any of their fellow subjects. (Hear, hear.) He thought that his hon. friend was a little unjust to his right hon. friend the member for Bradford. He understood his hon. friend to describe the Act of 1870 as a denominational measure, framed in the interest and worked in the interest of one denomination only.

Mr. RICHARD (interposing)—I beg the noble lord's pardon; I made no such statement.

The Marquis of HARTINGTON was glad to find that his hon. friend did not make that accusation, but he thought that there was no doubt that it had been made by others. (Hear, hear.) The whole house must be aware that the intention of his right hon. friend in introducing and passing that measure was to favour no sect or denomination. Now, it was necessary to look at the Bill introduced by the Government from two points of view—the educational and the religious point of view. If the bill failed in an educational point of view, then he thought that they would be justified in looking upon those provisions of it which seemed to trench upon the liberty of the subject with something more than jealousy and suspicion. But if, on the other hand, the bill did make a distinct advance in an educational point of view, it was their duty to look upon it rather with a view to amend such provisions as might be found to be objectionable than to seek for means of rejecting it altogether. (Hear, hear.) Looking at the bill from that point of view, he must admit that the amendments placed upon the paper by the noble lord the Vice-President of the Council appeared to him materially to amend the bill. (Hear, hear.) These amendments were all, as far as he understood them, in the direction of strengthening the principle of direct compulsion which was contained in the bill, and for his own part he found it rather difficult to see how this bill could be regarded in any other point of view than as a measure substantially for the establishment of direct compulsion. His hon. friend (Mr. Richard), as a preliminary to universal compulsion, thought that public elementary schools should be placed under public management. But in one sense public elementary schools were at present under public management. (Hear, hear.) Public elementary schools where they were denominational or board schools had to submit to inspection by public officers, and they had to comply with certain rules and regulations laid down for them by Parliament and by a public department. (Hear, hear.) Above all, they had to submit to a conscience clause, prescribed for them by Parliament. What his hon. friend wanted was not merely public management, but local management; that was, management by some locally elected authority. It was quite clear that such a change as that would be extremely distasteful to the managers of denominational schools, and the question which the House had to consider was, whether the change was required in the interests of education, or in the interests of freedom of conscience and religious liberty. If the conscience clause was faithfully enforced, the religious scruples of the parent could not be violated. For what, then, did his hon. friend require this management by locally elected officers? There might be cases where for some reason or other the conscience clause was not enforced. There was the case where a parent did not care to see the conscience clause enforced. That was a case to which he thought that the House would not think any great consideration was due. Then there might be the case where a parent did not dare to insist on the conscience clause being enforced. He failed to see how the amendment of his hon. friend met that case. According to his hon friend there was some overwhelming influence which made it dangerous for a parent to call upon the Government inspector to enforce the conscience clause; but in that case would the guardians elected under the shadow of that overwhelming influence be likely to enforce it? (Hear, hear.) There was a third case in which it was asserted that the whole tone of the teaching was distasteful to the present and the whole village community. Such cases might occur, and some public authority, some local supervision would have been of advantage. But this case showed in how many other cases which were not extreme cases quarrels and disputes of a most undesirable character might occur between the existing manager and the locally appointed authority. He must point out that the amendment did not meet the whole conscientious grievance—the grievance, for instance, of the Roman Catholic. The only security which seemed to be in the power of Parliament to supply was the strict enforcement of a conscience clause. The hon. member for Merthyr had not brought forward any very convincing proof that the conscience clause was, as he said, a delusion, and his amendment seemed to go too far. He did not understand that he wished to put an end to denominational schools altogether, but he did understand him to wish to replace the present management by the management of some locally appointed body. But if that wish was fulfilled he (Lord Hartington) failed to see what object would remain for anybody to support a voluntary school. The amendment went too far also, because it applied not only to cases of compulsion under this bill, but to compulsion as it existed in the Act of 1870, under which there was no power to interfere with the management of denominational schools. He was of opinion that the strict enforcement of the conscience clause would meet all the difficulties of the case, especially after it had been strengthened by Mr. Forster's amendment, that every neglect to enforce it should be brought before the Education Department. On the whole, it was a great gain to have it acknowledged for the first time that the public authorities were invested with a share in the educational system of the country.

Lord SANDON said he had received testimony from Nonconformists in various parts of the country which had assured him that those speedy denunciations which had followed the introduction of this bill were not acceptable to the mass of quiet Nonconformists. Addressing himself in detail to some of the statements made in the speeches for the amendment, he reminded Mr. Richard that the large number of British schools and board schools made it impossible that there could be an exclusion of Nonconformist teachers from Government-aided schools, and that there was a difference of opinion, as manifested by deputations that had waited upon him, as to the propriety of boards of guardians and town councils being managers of schools. He asserted that there was not a tittle of evidence to prove the statements of the member for Dundee that the school board system was cheaper and more efficient than the denominational system. Coming to the general question, he insisted that the country had shown its wish that the schools should be thorough training places for the character and morals of the children, and the question was whether public management was the best for these institutions. The only public management we as yet knew anything of was school-board management, and though in the infancy of the school-board movement, when public attention was attracted to it, the best men were easily had, he doubted whether, as time went on, superior men could be found to come forward to manage the schools. There were 800 school boards, having the direction of 1,700 schools. Only 160 had appointed managers of schools. Lady managers were appointed only to very few schools. Only 407 school boards had arranged for systematic visitation by themselves or their managers. What was there, therefore, but that these schools were left to the management of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, many of them excellent persons, but who were not entitled to walk alone? The town of Birmingham appointed no managers to their schools, and the school-board admitted they were too busy for systematic visitation, so the Birmingham schools were left without any management at all. It was admitted that the voluntary schools of England had had a remarkably good moral effect on the children. Was there, then, any element of injustice which led them to overthrow that system which was best for the children from their own point of view? He knew from experience that the conscience clause had not failed. Out of the 8,500 Church of England schools, 1,446 came under the conscience clause; 249 among the Wesleyan and other bodies come under that clause, 528 Roman Catholics, and 1,325 children of the board schools, so that there were really some 3,300 children under that clause. The religious difficulty, he said, was not a real one. It was a creature of the dead past rather than of the living present. It was quite clear the real meaning of the motion was that board schools should be put within reach of every Nonconformist parent. In their earnest judgment he believed Nonconformists would see that the bill was intended to give the best education to the children of this country, without making those great changes which might set them against education, and without disturbing the institutions which now existed. (Cheers.)

Mr. WADDY proposed to adjourn the debate, but being met with cries of "No, no," proceeded to say that this was a subject on which he felt so strongly that any interruptions of the kind he heard—(cries of "Divide")—would only protract his remarks. Although his views might not be the views of hon. members on the opposite side and some on his own, yet those views did influence a large number of the people of this country, and without understanding them he did not think the House could fairly enter on the discussion before them. They were told that the grievances of Nonconformists involved the remote past and involved imaginary grievances—(Hear, hear)—and this view seemed to find favour in some who cheered at the moment. He was prepared to hear those cheers from the enormous and crass ignorance there was on the subject. It was desirable, therefore, in the clearest way to bring the true view of the matter before the House. It was right to tell the House that this grievance did not belong to the remote past, but belonged to to-day, and was not an imaginary, but a real grievance, and the reason why they objected to this bill was not that it was such a very very bad bill—(Conservative cheers)—he would make hon. gentlemen a present of that—but because it was a continuation of a course of legislation which was exceedingly destructive, as many of them believed, of the religious liberties of the country. He did not mean to argue at any great length as to whether this was the tendency of the bill, but he could not help seeing that the tendency was to strengthen the denominational direction of existing legislation, and to destroy the entire religious liberty of large bodies of Nonconformists in regard to the education of their children. He was quite prepared to go further and say that this was the natural result, to a great extent, of previous legislation, and which seriously imperilled the liberty he had mentioned. He did not speak there as the representative of any religious body. ("Oh, oh.") He did not; he had no right to do it; he was not authorized to do it, and it would have been impertinence to do it—(a laugh)—but being a member of a large religious body, and knowing the feelings and views of those who composed it, he felt it right to express those views not as their representative, but for the information of the House. They believed the natural tendency of this legislation was to throw education into the hands of the Church of England in this country, and to the Roman Catholics in Ireland, and they did not know which was the more objectionable of the two. They did not think it fair that in Ireland education should be thrown into the hands of a church which took every possible advantage of the principles of toleration in this country, and took care to act on opposite principles in every other country in which it had power. They did not think it desirable that education should be thrown into the hands of the Church of England. According to the views laid down on the other side, the Nonconformists were fighting on the side of infidelity; but there were so many things to be said in favour of the views they entertained that he could not help thinking, when they were accused of teaching "There is no God," such a suggestion as that, though made in the British House of Commons, was not worthy of any reply at all. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. HALL: I beg to contradict that. I said it was time for Nonconformists and Churchmen to unite against infidelity—not that the Nonconformists favoured infidelity.

Mr. WADDY said that if he borrowed the tactics not long ago used, he should say he was glad to hear that retractation—("No, no")—but he did not borrow those tactics. This was not a question which could in reality be touched by the conscience clause at all. He would not allude to the scolding of people who were constantly evading the clause.

Lord SANDON: I must take exception to "who are constantly evading." I said, "now and then."

Mr. WADDY: Surely "now and then" were the inditia of many of whom the country never heard at all. He cared very little about the conscience clause or very little about the catechism. He did not think all the theology they could teach children of tender years was worth anything. That was child's play; that was not the real difficulty, the real mischief. As a Wesleyan Methodist if the Government would prepare a catechism of good sound Protestant theology he should be glad to see it read in every school of the land. Differences of dogmatic theology would have no effect. The really important matter was that the bill would hand over teaching to one religious denomination of the country which would have the aid of that subtle influence which would tend to show that was the one religion of the land. That was what was done. If children were led to believe that the clergymen of the Church of England were the one ministers of the Gospel, and the one minister from whom to derive all holy things, they would be driven from that learning which their parents believed to be proper for their interests. In that way, in the course of a few years, they would be driven by shoals from the the religion of their fathers. Take Lincolnshire, where the majority belonged to the Church he belonged to. They were poor, and education was in the hands of the parson and the squire. By this bill the management of the school would be under the ægis and care of the Church of England clergymen, and the minds of those children would be taken from the religious learning their parents were disposed for them to have. ("No, no.") He said "Yes." Whatever they might have had of denominationalism before there would now be denominationalism plus compulsion. The bill would drive their children away from the training they ought to have, and give them that which their parents did not wish them to have. There was not a day of their lives that they did not find out that they were looked upon—as they were gracefully informed a few days previously—that they were looked upon as belonging to an inferior social sphere. They had borne this for a long time at the hands of the Church, but all that they asked was to be let alone. They were not jealous of the position of the Church—("Oh, oh")—they only wanted to be let alone. They had been accustomed to outrages—("Oh, oh")—in connection with almost every service of their Church, and they had borne it all; but there was one thing beyond, which would stir the Nonconformists of the country, and that was any legislation of which the distinct and inevitable consequence would be to interfere with the training of their children, and if the Government were going to introduce a bill to add compulsion to denominationalism, and which would turn their children from the faith of their fathers; if this sort of thing were to go on and the string were continually to be tightened in favour of the Church and against the Nonconformists—there were a number of them who had hitherto held their hands, but would now join in the fight and raise a battle-cry which would be very disastrous to the Established Church. When the time came for the reversal of the policy of the Government, as come it would—(Hear)—let them not imagine that any proposal for compensation would be listened to when that policy was reversed. He should vote for the amendment of the hon. member for Merthyr, and he would appeal to hon. members in the moment of their power to consider that they were not legislating for a day but for all time. (Hear, hear.)

The House divided—

For the amendment	...	99
Against	...	317—218

The numbers were received with some cheering.

and the House went into committee on the bill, but on the motion of Mr. COWEN progress was immediately reported, and the House resumed.

The other orders were disposed of, and the House adjourned at half-past two.

COLLEGE FOR THE BLIND, UPPER NORWOOD.

We are only fulfilling a promise given in a recent number of the *Nonconformist* in calling attention again to this admirable institution. The effort which is now being made to raise 5,000*l.* during this summer to complete the erection of the new school building makes it especially desirable that what is done towards obtaining public recognition and support for it should be done as a contribution to this effort. There is a period in the history of philanthropic institutions, as in that of communities and individuals, when the rate of progress may be accelerated once and for all by a hearty combination of all the forces lying within reach. We venture to predict that a few years hence it will be clear in the retrospect that such a time occurred for the Norwood School for the Blind about the year 1876.

The building in which the various operations of teaching are conducted at present is a detached house, until lately occupied as a gentleman's residence. It is shut in behind a high wall, with a covered entrance to the road, and there are few sites in Norwood at once more secluded and elevated. Anyone of ordinary stature would walk under shadow of the wall and remark nothing of the beauty of the neighbourhood; but one step from the road, through the plain gateway, introduces the visitor to a well-kept garden of several acres in extent, arranged in terraces, where he will probably see several small groups of the inmates of the college walking arm-in-arm briskly and fearlessly along the gravel walks, or joining in some healthy exercise or sport. The new building, which is progressing towards completion, is situated on somewhat lower ground than the one now occupied as a school house, but within the same enclosure, and separated from it by less than fifty yards. Below this level again, and further from the road, are the girls' portion of the garden and a good-sized meadow for the use of the scholars in recreation time.

It is difficult to understand that all this is appreciated by those to whom the sense of sight is denied. Yet how shall we describe the pleasure which they take in the cultivation of their flower-beds, or in a ramble among the shrubs otherwise than as we should refer to our own experience about them. Two little boys, not wholly blind, came into the school as we entered the other day, one of them carrying a branch of horse-chesnut in blossom which he placed as a morning greeting in the hands of the blind pupil teacher who taught in the kinder-garten class. Rarely have we seen a sweeter or more delighted smile than the teacher returned by way of acknowledgment of this simple little act, as she passed her hands rapidly over the blossoms, and paused in her lesson until she had got a good impression of it in her mind. These little lads, the only "day" pupils at the school, as they passed their hands almost imperceptibly into the hand of Mr. Campbell, the principal, whom they overtook in the garden walk, furnished us with a proof—of which every tone and action of the teachers gave us confirmation—that the rule of love and sympathy is supreme here, and we were able the more readily to understand that, under such training, results might be wrought in the lives of these pupils such as to make them a source of blessing to themselves and to their country; and we may be sure that the feeling which these scholars have is not one of sentimental gratitude merely. They have learned from their teachers how to prepare themselves for a career of industry and usefulness. They try to obtain proficiency in learning in order that they may take their place in the world and hold it by their own honest exertions. The only genuine form of intelligent gratitude is that which is called forth by one who can rule with intelligent love; we have seldom seen this better exemplified than at the Norwood College.

The teachers are mostly ladies, whose aptitude is none the less for their being American. The training of the blind in America is undertaken as a national obligation, and the true American genius is represented in a system of tuition which enables its subjects to maintain themselves without asking asylum from the State. The rationale of arithmetic, of grammar, of music, are taught as one seldom finds them taught in ordinary schools. Rules are fallen back upon as guides, but the reason of the rule too must be understood, and the visitor will find a wonderful readiness in quite young pupils in analysing a sentence or describing the process of an arithmetical calculation. As a matter of course, the necessary appliances for carrying on this educational work are very costly compared with those which are used by the sighted. A sum has to be set up with type and read off with the fingers. A sentence needs to be perforated within a framework and read off in like manner on the reverse side. Maps and globes are raised, and the former pieced together like a puzzle to indicate the shape and position of the various countries. The principal work to which the pupils are trained is that of vocal and instrumental music and piano tuning, and the method of instruction employed in this department would require a separate article adequately to explain. The Principal and the Committee of this institution have, with the co-operation of local committees in Liverpool, Glasgow, Bristol, and other towns, founded scholarships for the benefit of pupils who have been sent up from those localities to receive training at the college, and it is by the extension of this system that they hope to widen the sphere of their operations throughout the country. At the present, however, they are hampered by want of funds to provide the necessary accommodation and equipment. When these are forthcoming, as we confidently hope they may be within the next few months, the work will be fairly before the English people, and we believe that the foundation of a national institution of the highest order and of incalculable benefit to the country will have been laid.

Epitome of News.

On Friday the Queen and Princess Beatrice came to London, and paid a visit to the loan collection of the Prince of Wales at the India Museum.

Her Majesty will leave Windsor Castle for the Isle of Wight to-morrow, and will probably go to Scotland about the middle of August.

The Empress Eugénie and Prince Louis Napoleon proceeded from Camden House, Chislehurst, on Thursday afternoon to Windsor Castle, on a visit to Her Majesty. They dined with the Queen and royal family, and remained at the castle during the night.

On Thursday evening the Prince of Wales dined with Sir Salar Jung at his house in Piccadilly. The guests—some thirty in number—asked to meet His Royal Highness included the Maharajah Duleep Singh, the Lord Chancellor, the Marquis of Salisbury, the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Northbrook, Lord Halifax, Lord Lawrence, and others. Previous to dinner a durbar was held strictly according to the usual Eastern ceremonial, and Sir Salar Jung presented His Royal Highness with the customary nuzzur of 101 gold mohurs; this was touched by His Royal Highness and then returned. Sir Salar Jung is visiting the Duke of Sutherland at Trentham Hall, and amongst those invited to meet him is Mr. Bright, M.P.

The Government have decided to institute a new law office of considerable importance—that of Legal Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The determination to create this office is said to have been arrived at several months ago, when the Government were embarrassed by the controversies which grew out of the Fugitive Slave Circular; and it is probable that the execution of the project has been accelerated by the differences between this country and the United States on the extradition question. The gentleman selected to fill the new post is Sir Julian Pauncefote, Assistant-Secretary for the Colonies. He was formerly Attorney-General of Hongkong, and afterwards Chief Justice of the Leeward Islands. Sir Julian will be succeeded by Mr. John Bramston, now Attorney-General of Hongkong.

The Lord Mayor received on Friday through the Chief Rabbi (the Rev. Dr. Adler) the sum of 630*l.* 16s. 2d., being the amount of the collections made in the metropolitan synagogues under his pastoral charge in aid of the Hospital Sunday fund. This brings the fund up to nearly 26,000*l.*

Sir E. A. Lechmere was on Thursday elected without opposition for West Worcestershire, in succession to Mr. Dowdeswell, who has resigned through ill-health.

We are sorry to see the announcement that, owing probably to over-exertion, Miss J. Jackson, one of the Jubilee Singers, has been attacked with paralysis.

Freeholders not on the present register of voters, or who have during the past twelve months removed their residences, and who desire a vote for the county, should send in their claims to the overseers before the 20th of the present month. To qualify a freeholder to be registered as such he must have been in possession of the rents and profits for six months previous to the last day of July, and be in receipt of 40s. clear therefrom.

A meeting of cotton-spinners and manufacturers of Northern Lancashire was held at Manchester on Friday, at which it was resolved, in consequence of the depression of trade, to reduce the wages 10 per cent. At Blackburn it has been resolved to reduce the wages 5 per cent., and work short hours.

Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, in charging the Lewes grand jury on Thursday, referred to the Prisons Bill. He had not a word to say as to the political aspect of the question, but with regard to uniformity of discipline, it was notorious that there was very great difference in the administration of punishment, so that a sentence of twelve months in one gaol was equivalent to eighteen months in another, and a judge, unless thoroughly cognisant of the method in the county where he was engaged, might pass a more or less severe sentence than he intended. He could not but think that the bill would remedy these difficulties.

Regarding the depreciation of silver, the select committee report, through Mr. Goschen, the cause to be threefold:—Firstly, the fluctuation of the Indian trade; secondly, the change of the standard of the currency of Germany; and lastly, the enormous increase in the yield of the silver mines of South America. The last point is one which may be looked upon as a disturbing element for some time to come.

Mdme. Christine Nilsson recently gave a concert in London in aid of the Hospital for Diseases of the Throat, and she has now forwarded a cheque for 1,000*l.* to the treasurer of the institution.

Miss Agnes Beckwith, not yet fifteen years of age, daughter of Mr. Beckwith, teacher of swimming, swam on Wednesday afternoon from Battersea to Greenwich, a distance of ten miles, in two hours forty-six minutes. She was quite fresh on leaving the water, although she took no refreshments on the journey.

The *Leeds Mercury* mentions that both in Leeds and neighbouring towns wrought-iron girders are being delivered from Belgium for use in the erection and extension of warehouses.

Eighty tons of fresh meat from New York are sold in the London market every week, and it is of such excellent quality that by far the largest proportion of it finds its way into the shops of the West-end butchers. The secret of preservation is that immediately after the beasts are slaughtered the meat is chilled.—*Scotsman.*

In distributing the prizes at King's College on Thursday, Mr. Gladstone impressed upon the students the importance of the season of life at which they had arrived, and presented to them a sketch of the principles upon which they should shape their career. Living in a very peculiar time, they would probably have to encounter very great intellectual temptations. With the raising of the moral and intellectual temperament of the mind of men there came a liability to excitement, and with this came instability. Unless they were on their guard against such instability the mind lost those solid qualities on which the essence of the human character depended. It was requisite, not that men should quench or even check their eagerness for knowledge, but that they should always keep in view those laws which appertain to their human condition, and tend to secure the steady direction of their path.

In last week's *Englishman* an appeal is made to the Tichbornites to support Kenealy's publications. "If they (says the *Englishman*) do not support our publications—but if they die, as the very best magazine ever published, we mean the *Englishman's Magazine*, died for want of support—there is nothing between Dr. Kenealy and utter ruin, for he has no profession, and no private means."

Mr. Frederick Cavill, a teacher of swimming, attempted on Thursday to swim from London Bridge to Gravesend, a distance of twenty-five miles, but owing to the sluggish neap ebb tide he was unable to get beyond Greenhithe, which is twenty miles and a-half from London Bridge. This distance he swam in 5h. 50m. 10s.

On Thursday the body of a young woman was picked up in Cornelian Bay, near Scarborough, under circumstances which pointed towards the conclusion that she had been murdered. On Friday the body of a man was found on the beach near the same place, and it was subsequently discovered that it was that of a groom, for whose apprehension on the charge of abducting the girl a warrant had been issued. The girl, Mary Agar, was only fifteen years of age, and had contracted an intimacy with the man, whose name was John White, and they disappeared from Rosedale Abbey, near Whitby, where they resided, on Tuesday. There is reason to suppose that White pushed the girl over the cliffs, and next day drowned himself.

At a meeting of the Salford Town Council on Wednesday, Mr. Mather, urging the desirability of purchasing or leasing some baths, said, "The people at present had compulsory education, compulsory vaccination, and he did not see why they should not have compulsory 'bathation,' followed up with compulsory cremation."

On Saturday the Camp of the National Rifle Association at Wimbledon was formally opened, and a large number of volunteers took possession of their quarters. The number of entries for the Queen's Prize is 2,320, and for the St. George's 1,943, in each case showing an increase upon the returns of last year. The shooting opened on Monday, and has since been proceeding.

Mr. Philips, M.P. for Bury, is now going on very favourably, all signs of fever having disappeared.

We are informed that their Royal Highnesses the Princess of Wales, the Princess Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck, and the royal children are about to pay a visit to the Alexandra Orphanage for Infants, Hornsey Rise, and trust it will have the effect of calling attention to its claims at the present time.

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MARYLEBONE THEATRE.

The time has now come that we must make a rousing appeal to the Christian Public for support and sympathy. We have taken this Theatre on two or three months' rental, from 1st July, with option of purchasing lease by instalments. The price asked is comparatively small—viz., £2,000, to be paid during the next eighteen months. Our object is to turn the Theatre into a Place of Worship and form a congregation under a clergyman. We are appealing to Church people and Nonconformists, therefore the discipline and character of the service, &c., would be such as to meet the approval of all true Christians. The Lord hath already done great things for us, and to Him be all the praise.

This Theatre is situated in the midst of a poor and densely-populated neighbourhood where there are at present large numbers who attend no place of worship. The necessity for making a special effort to reach this class of the population, therefore, speaks for itself.

SUBSCRIPTIONS may be paid to me, and further information could be obtained from the Secretary.

If you cannot do much, send a small subscription; and, if in London, come occasionally and join our band of workers. Help us to storm this stronghold of Satan and turn it into a place of prayer and praise.

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General Burrows.	Rev. W. Page.
Rev. R. Billing.	Mr. J. Powell.
Rev. C. Bailhache.	Mr. Denham Smith.
Rev. W. Frith.	Rev. H. E. Stone.
Mr. Forbes.	Rev. John Serjeant.
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J. H. Lydall, Esq.	And other Gentlemen.

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" 22nd... " —Major E. Ferris.
" 29th ... " —Rev. B. G. Moffat.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

*** We have received several letters commenting in adverse terms on the appearance of Nonconformist ministers arrayed in surplices at the opening of Christ Church, Westminster-road. The demands upon our space quite preclude their insertion, and such incidents must be left to produce their own impression. Those who set store on the simplicity of Christianity are not likely to follow the injurious tendencies of the day in the direction of ecclesiastical ritual and ceremonial.

The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, 1876.

SUMMARY.

The campaign of the Servians and Montenegrins against Turkey has been decidedly adverse to the former. Conflicting as the telegrams from the seat of war necessarily are, there is no doubt whatever that the superior numbers and discipline of the Turks have enabled them to drive back the invading forces of the vassal States. General Zach, in his attempt to effect a junction with the Montenegrins, has sustained a disastrous defeat; and General Tchernayeff, who by a daring flank movement towards Sophia, sought to cut off the Ottoman army from its base, has been completely foiled, and is said to be in considerable danger. The Servians, who have suffered very heavily, have nearly exhausted their supply of men, while the Turks have large reserves at Sophia ready to be sent forward to the scene of hostilities. There is great discouragement at Belgrade, and an expectation that the conflict will be of short duration. Indeed, there are already reports, perhaps premature, that Prince Milan, through the intervention of Russia, is about to crave an armistice.

Hardly less interesting than the news from the seat of war is the account of the meeting of the Czar and the Kaiser at Reichstadt, which seems to have been of the most cordial, not to say effusive, character. A complete understanding between the two potentates is believed to have been established, and all plans about an ultimate solution of the Eastern question are to be dropped for the present. Non-intervention is to be maintained in principle, and "should any concrete case arise requiring decision, steps are to be taken to bring about an understanding between all the Powers." It is evident that all idea of giving autonomy to Bosnia and Herzegovina has, for the present at least, been abandoned. The news as to the result of the interview at Reichstadt has given much relief to the various money markets of Europe.

At yesterday's day sitting the House of Commons applied itself to the Education Bill in committee, and got through five clauses by six o'clock. Some amendments were accepted, including one of those of which Lord Sandon gave notice on Friday, to the effect that the school committees appointed by boards of guardians must be mainly restricted to their own members. His lordship also consented to adopt Mr. Forster's amendment to the effect that it will be the duty of the local authority to report to the Education Department any infractions of section seven of the Act of 1870, or any complaint of such infraction which may reach them. "Lord Sandon," remarks the *Daily News*, "spoke of this concession as one which, though in his opinion not necessary, was an additional assurance to sensitive people that their conscientious scruples would not be interfered with. But it is clearly a great deal more than this, and, as Mr. Richard said, it will be a considerable advantage to those who desire the protection of the conscience clause. It puts in every district a well-known body whose duty it is to receive complaints." This concession was probably granted by the Government in consequence of the impression produced by the scandals reported in Monday night's debate. The discussion will be resumed on Thursday, but if the twenty-eight pages of amendments that still remain are to be discussed, there is little chance that the bill will emerge from committee even by the end of next week. Lord Sandon does not seem much disposed to accept the reactionary proposals that emanate from his own side—not even Mr. Cowper-Temple's amendment. The Commons will have another opportunity of considering the question of protecting the religious freedom of Nonconformists on the amendment to Clause 6 which Sir Henry Havelock will move. It is to this effect:—"Provided that no bye-law made under this section shall compel any child to attend at any school, with regard to which an objection, on grounds of conscience made in writing, and signed by the parent of such child, has been lodged with the clerk of the local authorities." Lord Sandon ought not to raise any objection to so equitable a proviso.

It will have been seen that the two University bills were fully discussed in the House of Commons last Thursday, and that the general tone of the debate was favourable to Liberal reforms and adverse to such an interpretation of the Oxford measure as had been given in Lord Salisbury's speeches in the Upper House. Whether the bills will get through this session is, however, doubtful, as the Government are evidently resolved to give the preference to the Education Bill. The Lords have passed the Merchant Shipping Bill through committee without any substantial alterations, or such as would be likely to bring about a collision with the Commons. A month is all that remains for the legislative labours of the two Houses, and if Parliament is to rise by the 12th of August, there will have to be a considerable "massacre" of Government bills, especially if, as is probable, there should next week be protracted debates on the foreign policy of the Government.

THE LIBERALS AND MR. RICHARD'S AMENDMENT.

MR. RICHARD has given the House of Commons—perhaps we ought rather to say, the Liberal party in the House of Commons—the opportunity of joining him in a protest against the children of Nonconformists in the rural districts being swept into the schools of a single denomination without adequate security being offered for the rights of conscience. We are about to take a new point of departure in the extension of elementary education, and Mr. Richard's amendment simply affirmed what would seem to be, and what even the *Times* admits to be, a sound, reasonable principle, that when Nonconformists are about to be forced into these particular schools, and when the mass of these schools will be almost entirely supported by taxes or rates and school pence, adequate safeguards should be demanded, in the shape of public local management, control, or supervision. The hon. member for Merthyr did not stickle for any particular form in which this demand should be recognised. He only asked that the principle of public control over public funds in the interests of religious liberty should be recognised. That the majority should refuse his request we were prepared to expect. The Tories are bound up with State-Church ascendancy, and it is part of their creed to do nothing to relax it. It might have been thought that this was an excellent opportunity for the Liberal party as a body to assert a principle entirely in harmony with their political professions, and to put on record their conviction that here was a palpable grievance of their traditional allies, the Nonconformists, that required to be redressed. They declined to do so. There is not, so far as we are aware, a single representative body among the Free Churches of this country that has not protested against the injustice and one-sidedness of Lord Sandon's Bill, and foremost among them have been the Wesleyans. Are they all under a delusion? "Yes," is the response of the leader and the majority of the Liberal party who either voted against Mr. Richard's amendment or stayed away on Monday night. We are reluctantly driven to this interpretation. For, whatever may have been the terms of Mr. Richard's amendment, every one knew that it was a plain protest against the children of Dissenters being driven into Church schools without adequate safeguards for the rights of conscience.

It is perfectly preposterous to assert that the grievance is an imaginary one. In his masterly and elaborate opening speech, the honourable member for Merthyr gave fact after fact, and quoted one opinion after another, which conclusively proved his case. And other members followed Mr. Richard in producing evidence to show the urgent need of Parliamentary action on behalf of Nonconformists. Indeed, what further proof is required besides the fact that nearly all of the thousands of schools which will be affected by this bill—that is, placed in the position of a secure monopoly by additional State grants and the co-operation of the local authorities—are affiliated to the National Society, whose foremost object is "to educate the poor in the principles of the Established Church." As to the division of Monday night, we care but little. Fifty votes, more or less, would not have substantially affected the decision. But the debate was of exceeding value. It has shown to all the world the reality of the injustice and oppression endured by the Nonconformists in the rural districts. And the speeches of those hon. members who came forward unaided to give articulate expression to their protest will evoke a warm response throughout the country however coldly they may have been listened to in the House of Commons. The genuineness of the grievance of which Mr. Richard was the mouthpiece could hardly be better shown than by the analogy drawn by Mr. Mundella. "If," asked the hon. member for Sheffield, "there were 100 purely Roman Catholic schools in the country to which the children of Church people must be sent or not educated at all, would hon. gentlemen opposite pass the bill without further safeguards?" The same question might have been asked of hon. members on his own side of the House, who by scores have refused to record a vote for the protection of Nonconformists in rural parishes whose children are ere long to be handed over by the law to the tender mercies of clerical school managers. As we have said, these votes would have had no practical effect except as the opportune expression of sympathy with rural Nonconformists, who have to contend with an all-powerful State Church clergy.

We cannot but think that many of these Liberal deserters on Monday night will regret the course they have taken when they read the speeches of Mr. A. M'Arthur and Mr. Waddy, both of them members of a religious communion that has been foremost in repudiating the title of "political Dissenters." Each of these gentlemen expressed the bitter feeling that exists amongst the Wesleyan body at the cruel fashion in which their poorest members are, in respect to education, being handed over without safeguard to the clergy of the Establishment. They had hitherto, said Mr. Waddy, had denominational schools. They were now going to have denominationalism *plus* compulsion, by means of a bill which would place the management of the school under the ægis and care of the Church of England clergymen, and alienate the minds of those children from the religious instruction their parents desired them to have. And to this protest the hon. member for Barnstaple added words of warning which will be sure to find an echo in the hearts of the religious body with which he is connected.

> They had been accustomed to outrages (said Mr. Waddy) in connection with almost every service of their Church, and they had borne it all; but there was one thing beyond, which would stir the Nonconformists of the country, and that was any legislation of which the distinct and inevitable consequence would be to interfere with the training of their children, and if the Government were going to introduce a bill to add compulsion to denominationalism, and which would turn their children from their faith of the fathers; if this sort of thing were to go on and the string were continually to be tightened in favour of the Church and against the Nonconformists—there were a number of them who had hitherto held their hands, but would now join in the fight and raise a battle-cry which would be very disastrous to the Established Church.

Nor can we congratulate the Liberal deserters of Monday night on being in the same boat as the author of the bill, upon which they are disposed to look with so much forbearance, if not with favour. They could hardly feel comfortable in hearing Lord Sandon not only deride "the imaginary grievances of Nonconformists," but in observing that the whole drift of his speech was to prove the superiority of denominational to school-board schools, agreeably to the policy he pursues at the Education Department of preventing the Church monopoly of education in rural districts from being in any way interfered with.

We know not how the bill may fare in committee. But so far as Monday night's debate and division are concerned, it will surprise us if Nonconformists do not feel bitter resentment at the treatment their cause has received at the hands of Lord Hartington and the principal members of the Liberal party. They were not prepared for their protest being received with so much apathy or contempt by their political allies. The wedge of disunion has once more been recklessly driven between them by the leaders whose professed aim is to build up a united party, and the responsibility for the consequences must rest on their shoulders.

THE TURKISH OUTRAGES IN BULGARIA.

THE short conversation that took place in the House of Commons on Monday afternoon, in reference to the statements made by the Constantinople correspondent of the *Daily News*, corroborated, moreover, by the correspondent of the *Times* at Therapia, respecting the atrocities recently committed by Bashi-Bazouks and Circassians in Bulgaria, will create great uneasiness in the mind of the British public as it regards the part which Her Majesty's Government is suspected of taking, with only too much decision, in the quarrel between Turkey and her vassal provinces. We are yet unwilling—perhaps we should say unable—to lay to the charge of the noble Secretary of State for

Foreign Affairs, or even of the Prime Minister himself, any definite connivance at the indescribable cruelties perpetrated in Bulgaria under the sanction of the supreme political authorities at Constantinople. Whatever leanings they may have towards the exercise of what the Americans used to call a "benevolent neutrality," we can hardly venture to doubt that the British Cabinet have used all the moral influence they command to impress upon the Porte, both in the name of humanity and of sound policy, the necessity imposed upon it by the nature as well as the causes of the present war to repress with stern determination deeds, or misdeeds, the bare mention of which cannot fail to excite the horror of Christendom. In common with most of our fellow-countrymen, we shall not only be greatly relieved by, but shall rejoice in, any authentic evidence tending to prove the statements to which we have referred comparatively unfounded in fact. But we must own that we should be greatly surprised thereby. The body of testimony given by the correspondent of the *Daily News* in support of his heartrending statements, the corroboration of them by the correspondent of the *Times*, the publication of many of the worst stories in the Turkish prints at Constantinople, and the admission of Mr. Disraeli himself, on Monday night, that atrocities have been committed in Bulgaria, inseparable, as he says, from wars of insurrection, carried on not by regular troops but by a sort of *posse comitatus* of an armed population, dispose us to think with Mr. W. E. Forster that these statements carry a great deal of truth with them. There may be some exaggeration of the details, but there may also be, as the right hon. gentleman suggested, "what is intensely horrible and would excite indignation in us all."

Now, a word or two as to the nature of the outrages stated to have been committed by the Bashi-Bazouks and Circassians in the once flourishing province of Bulgaria. It is said that more than a hundred Bulgarian towns have been utterly destroyed, although no pretext of revolutionary movements existed in regard to more than five or six of them; that, at least, twenty-five thousand unarmed and inoffensive people have been massacred in cold blood; that more than a thousand Bulgarian children have been taken and sold as slaves—some of them publicly in the streets of Adrianople and Philipopolis; that horrible tortures of every description have been inflicted on thousands of those not murdered; that outrages upon women have been general and brutal, and were all the more terrible because Bulgarian women have higher ideas of virtue and chastity than those of any other nationality in the East; that no fewer than ten thousand Bulgarians are now in prison and undergoing tortures, many such as have not been known in Europe since the Middle Ages; and, lastly, that many thousand refugees are crowded in the larger towns, where they suffer all kinds of abuse from the Turkish population, and are starving to death because the Bulgarians are not allowed to help them. Now, allowing, what is most probable, that some, if not most, of these details have been described in terms of considerable exaggeration, there will yet remain enough of the picture put before us to chill the blood of every friend of humanity with horror. A Government, such as that of the Sultan, which, perhaps, cannot be justly accused of directly instigating the perpetration of these atrocities, but which knew of them and made no effort to stop them, and which ordered the disarming of the whole Bulgarian population, and then armed the Circassians and Bashi-Bazouks and turned them loose upon their helpless victims, can hardly be regarded by Englishmen as worthy of moral support.

But is it really true that Her Majesty's Ministers have given their moral support to the Power which, even if it is not perpetrating, is sanctioning these deeds of darkness and cruelty at which our blood curdles? Of this the country will be better qualified to judge when the promised papers have been laid before Parliament. At any rate, such seems to be the present belief of most of the European States. Allegations are made to this effect in Constantinople, and are confirmed by information diffused all over the continent. This in itself is humiliating enough, even if such statements respecting the action of Her Majesty's Government are not well founded. The course they are taking, however, seems to have suggested the rumour which is now spread over the civilised world, and, unfortunately, if Mr. Disraeli's speeches in the House of Commons may be fairly taken as representing the wishes and temper of the Government, it does not appear in any anxious haste to disavow the suspicion cast upon it. With every question put in the House of Commons with a view to elicit fuller authentic information Mr. Disraeli fences, and gives a painful impression that he knows more than he can trust himself at present to avow. But "it is revolting to the consciences of Englishmen," Mr. W. E. Forster not too strongly put it, "that we should even be supposed to give our moral support to a Power which has perpetrated these enormities, unless it be proved to the contrary." We cannot help thinking that if it shall hereafter appear from the diplomatic papers, and from the debate upon them, that the course pursued by the Ministers of the Crown in relation to the quarrel between the Porte and her vassal and insurgent provinces has been directed by wisdom, justice, and humanity, they will have to thank Mr. Disraeli chiefly for having excited public suspicion that the very opposite of all this was the truth. If the Great Mystery Man had never spoken upon the subject there would have been less misgiving than there appears to be. We devoutly hope that nothing more solidly worse will be found to underlie the shifty answers which he has returned to the questions put to him, from time time to time, in the House of Commons.

SKETCHES IN PARLIAMENT.

House of Commons, Tuesday Morning.

Mr. Richard's amendment to Lord Sandon's Education Bill was, at one o'clock this morning, rejected by a majority of 218 votes in a House of 416 members. This was a full muster for a division, but it would be an error to suppose that any considerable proportion of them were present to hear the arguments put forth in the course of the long debate. There are some questions on which the House of Commons has made up its mind, with respect to which it petulantly regards talk as supererogatory. Prominent amongst these is the cause with which for many years Mr. Dixon's name was associated, and which under a slightly altered phase Mr. Richard last night urged. Speaking early in the evening, Mr. Richard had a tolerably large audience, composed chiefly of men who had been for their ride in the Park, and were not yet disposed to go and dress for dinner. But the House gradually thinned as the fatal dinner hour approached, and did not fill again till towards eleven, the hour fixed by the Whips in answer to numerous inquiries as that before which the division was certain not to take place. At times, as Lord Sandon remarked when he came to speak, the debate was not without signs of collapsing, possibly not so much for lack of prepared speakers as from a natural indisposition on the part of hon. members who had prepared speeches to deliver them under the depressing influence of an almost empty House. The Marquis of Hartington had intended to speak before dinner, but was prevented by the length of the address of the mover and seconder of the amendment, and by that of Mr. Hubbard, who trolled out his forcible-feeble views for an interminable space of time.

The aggregate number who voted for the amendment was something of a surprise to those who had gained their notion of the force of the Opposition from the numerical demonstration in its favour made in debate. I have not at this time of writing seen a copy of the division-list, but fancy it will be not the least interesting and instructive page of the literature of the debate. The Marquis of Hartington, it need hardly be said, voted against the amendment, and he was followed into the lobby by Mr. Forster, and nearly all the members of the late Ministry present. Amongst the exceptions were Sir Henry James, Lord Kensington, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman. Neither Mr. Gladstone nor Mr. Bright was present during the debate, nor were we cheered by the presence or instructed by the counsel of Sir William Harcourt. Perhaps more notable absences throughout the evening were those of Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Fawcett, though the latter hon. member came in with the reflux of members about half-past ten, and both took part in the division, voting with Mr. Richard.

The progress made during the week by the Ministry with bills forming part of their programme for the session has not been satisfactory. In fact, it would more accurately describe the position of affairs if I were to say that it was distinctly discouraging. The whole of Thursday night was devoted to discussion on the second reading of the University of Cambridge Bill, which Sir Charles Dilke met by an amendment, declaring that it does not sufficiently define the principles and scope of the changes which the proposed Commissioners are empowered to make. By an incomprehensible hocus-pocus, a minute description of which would read like a paragraph from the Athanasian Creed, the Ministry have hopelessly mixed up the University of Cambridge Bill with the University of Oxford Bill, introducing one in the House of Lords, and one in the House of Commons, then running them both together as if they were one Bill, at the same time declaring that they are not one bill but two bills, and asserting that though one is introduced by Mr. Walpole, it is not a private member's Bill, and yet though supported by the Government, it must not be regarded as a ministerial measure, and though, and yet, and moreover, and notwithstanding, till the whole affair becomes one of those things which even Mr. Grant Duff cannot understand. And then on Thursday night, on the second reading of the Cambridge Bill, we had him delivering an essay on the Oxford Bill, with one half of the House shouting "Order," the other "Hear, hear;" and Mr. Grant Duff protesting, what indeed was the fact, that it was a common agreement that the Oxford Bill might, the rules of Parliament to the contrary notwithstanding, be debated on the second reading of the Cambridge Bill. That is a breathless sentence, and, doubtless, a little mixed, in which case it will be appropriate to the subject. Out of all the cloudiness and painstaking avoidance of straight lines this fact is plainly apparent, that neither the Cambridge University Bill nor the Oxford University Bill will become law this session.

It is to be hoped that a better fate awaits the Appellate Jurisdiction Bill, which if it succeeds in establishing a single one of the reforms with which it is freighted, will do much to atone for what is likely to prove the barrenness of the Session. Whilst the bill has been awaiting the motion to go into committee, some of the leaders of the Bar have been privately conferring, and have, with unwonted unanimity, agreed upon recommending a wonderfully simple yet powerfully effective change in the mode of of administering justice. At present we,

The heirs of all the ages,

enjoy among other property that has descended to us, the custom of three judges sitting to decide certain cases of an average importance which, in a neighbouring court, and indeed anywhere else, are accustomed to be settled by one. The proposal of the Bar, which the Attorney-General has been induced to father in the House of Commons, is that this anachronism should be removed, and that henceforth, except in certain specified cases, all causes in the High Court of Justice should be decided by a single judge. Like much else that has been finally approved in the Jurisdiction Bill, this suggestion came, I believe, originally from Mr. Watkin Williams, or at least its present position in the House is due to the unremitting and unostentatious efforts of the hon. and learned member. The result of Friday morning's debate was not more than to get the bill into committee, and at present no date has been fixed for resuming committee, every available hour of Government time being devoted to the Education Bill. This is not promising; but the bill will not be allowed to drop without a strong, and it is to be hoped successful effort, to push it through. The difficulties which exist in the law courts for some such bill are so overwhelming, that it is possible the lawyers may consent to forego even the pleasure of making long speeches, if such self-denial would ensure passage of the bill.

The great debate on the foreign policy of the Government is yet deferred, awaiting the issue of papers. In the meantime there has been an interesting conversation on the alleged atrocities in Bulgaria, in the course of which Mr. Disraeli displayed in an almost ludicrous manner his apparently constitutional inability to deal in a simple, straightforward manner with patent facts.

Mr. E. J. Physick, sculptor, has recently received a commission to execute a noble and chaste memorial tablet of the Rev. Thomas Goodwin, D.D., the venerable and illustrious founder in 1640 of the church which first met in Anchor-lane, Thames-street, and now assembles in the "City Temple," under the ministry of the Rev. Joseph Parker, D.D., being the oldest Congregational Church in London. This memorial has been designed with much taste by Mr. Physick, and on completion will be erected in the vestibule of the City Temple.

The Florentine correspondent of the *Athenæum* writes:—Professor Domenico Berti, of the University of Rome, has published, for the first time complete, the two trials of Galileo, after the original and authentic text, and has added a splendid historical commentary. It is proved by M. Berti that Galileo really was condemned to the torture; but M. Berti supposes that the judge who condemned him was a man of kind feeling, and found the means of saving Galileo from the horrible punishment he would otherwise have had to endure.

Literature.

LORD AMBERLEY'S "ANALYSIS OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF."[*]

We have found it hard to subject this book to that *lumen siccum* which justice to an author, his subject-matter, and the public alike, demands as the medium by which a reviewer should examine the books he has to notice. We cannot forget the recent death of Lord Amberley nor the interest excited by his short and varied public career. Perhaps this is the less to be regretted, because, after all, the value of the book is autobiographic rather than critical. There was little need for the editor, in his short preface, to remind us of the personality of Lord Amberley; that personality appears in almost every page. Like the "Apologia" of Dr. Newman, the "Phases of Faith" of his brother, and many another theological treatise of this self-conscious age, the book will be read much more because of the insight it gives us into the workings of a mind struggling with the problems of existence than because it furnishes contributions of worth towards the permanent settlement of those problems.

It is not thus, indeed, that Lord Amberley conceives of his own work. He presents it as an endeavour to make "religion the subject of philosophical inquiry." He aims by "scientific means" to "discover its origin, lay bare its true character to the gaze of students, and estimate the value of its pretensions to be in possession of truths of equal, if not superior, authority to those of either natural or moral science. The method he pursues is that of comparison: he brings together the phenomena presented by the religious sentiment in many races of men and ages of the world's history, that he may distinguish the permanent and essential from what is accidental and local in them. In the hands of competent observers this method is productive of valuable results in reference to the history of religion; but Lord Amberley contents himself with comparing the superficial phenomena. One of his canons is this:—"If we should find arguments of the same character used by the adherents of different creeds to prove contradictory propositions, we should be forced to dismiss such arguments as of comparitively little value." In applying this dogma, he deems it sufficient to point out that most religions have their miraculous stories, and "the advantage of being supported by the authority of a long succession of able, wise, and virtuous men, fully competent to judge of their truth"; and straightway to dismiss the argument from miracles and that from saintliness as of no permanent importance in any religious system. The relation of the miracles to a religious system—whether of its very substance or mere excrescences upon it; the precise way in which the miracles enter as evidences or as illustrations of the religion; and the relation of the saintly lives to the doctrine, are not conceived by him as forming part of the question. Arguments of any and every kind ought surely to be estimated according to their own relevance and cogency; no *à priori* considerations can warrant us in "dismissing" them "as of comparatively little value." To say—this religion has its miracles and so has that, such a system had its prophets and its sacred books and so had such another, therefore all are of equal value—is to repeat the error of the abandoned Linnean system of botanical classification, which proceeded on superficial resemblances, ignorant of their relations to the life-history of plants. The scientific spirit distrusts these patent resemblances in systems far removed from one another; the philologist, for instance, suspects that if two words in the languages of different peoples are very much alike, they cannot have come from the same root.

Lord Amberley has brought together a large amount of curious and interesting information concerning the religious customs of barbarous tribes. The larger part of his book, however, treats of Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Parseeism, Mahometanism, and Christianity; each of which systems has a founder or Prophet whose life and personal teachings he describes, and a sacred literature or Bible which he criticises. Appropriately enough, he compares the first four systems with Christianity, instead of comparing the five systems exhaustively with one another; more than four hundred pages out of the thousand which the two volumes contain being devoted to Jesus Christ and the Old and New Testaments. His criticism generally lacks depth and inwardness. Speaking religiously, we should say, it is deficient in spirituality; speaking critically, we should say, it is deficient in the element of historical imagination, the power to apprehend what the teaching meant in the mouth of the teacher and its applicability to the circumstances of those to whom it was addressed. Throughout the book the description of rites and customs is more satisfactory than the presentation of beliefs; but it is in the discussion of the Christian history that Lord Amberley's inability to perceive the profounder elements of the question he is dealing with is most evident.

We have marked several passages in which these defects are conspicuous; a selection from them is all that space will allow us to give our readers. Lord Amberley in considering "the more strictly ethical elements" of Christ's teaching, omits "those very considerable portions of His doctrine which refer to Himself and His kingdom," a distinction which, in the case of Christ, is radically faulty, seeing that His ethical teaching is almost uniformly based upon His personal relations to the Father and mankind. The failure to perceive this vitiates the the whole discussion of the moral value of the Gospel; and renders the author unable to appreciate Paul's references to Christ, for instance, when warning the Corinthians against fornication and speaking of the sanctity of the marriage relation. Lord Amberley has no standard by which to measure a teacher of morals other than the originality or the precision of his maxims. The force of motive by which he commends ethical truth is treated as of no importance, and thus the attitude of the Gospel to ethical science is wholly misconceived. More than once Christ is represented as "plainly anxious that [His claim to the Messianic title] should be acknowledged, and the rights it conferred upon Him recognised"; a mode of conceiving of Christ's purpose, which lands the author in inextricable confusion when describing Christ's public course. We have in the book a description of the intellectual method of Sokrates which well represents Christ's method of bringing men to the recognition, not of His "rights," but of His relations to humanity as the Messiah. "Whatever knowledge he thinks it possible to acquire at all must be acquired by reasoning and inquiry, and must be tested by comparison of our own mental condition with that of others. Nothing must be assumed but what is granted by the hearer. Sokrates would have thought that there was little gained by the mere dogmatic assertion of moral or spiritual truths. He must carry his interlocutor along with him." It was exactly thus that Jesus Christ sought to lead His disciples up to the perception of His Messiahship, avoiding, even dreading, a too easy acknowledgment of it, careful to see that they knew and felt what they were saying before he drew a confession from their lips.

Lord Amberley has no perception of the subtler play of thought which is characteristic of Hebrew literature in general, and especially of the teaching of Christ, the undercurrent of feeling and purpose, the recognition of which is essential to our understanding of the form of his sayings and their relevancy to the circumstances under which they were spoken. Thus he speaks of Christ's "illustrating his meaning by short and simple parables," and contrasts the parabolic instruction of the synoptic gospels with his obscure symbolic method in the fourth gospel; overlooking Christ's own statement that He spoke in parables for the very purpose of discriminating between His hearers. The parable of the labourers in the vineyard, we are told, "is intended to justify the deity in assigning equal rewards to those who have borne unequal burdens;" whereas it was intended to hint to Peter that the spirit which was eager for reward was ungracious, and would surely stumble at the large benevolence of God. Christ's answer to the Scribes and Pharisees who asked whether it was lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar, an answer which affirms the great Christian principle of loyalty to a *de facto* government, is also misunderstood. The flippant criticism of Christ's declaration of the equal sanctity of all things, the illustration of a member of Parliament affirming that "it is wrong to swear by the New Testament, because the person taking the oath cannot make a single type larger or smaller," would never have occurred to anyone who remembered the attempts made by many to evade the obligation of an oath by avoiding a direct invocation while seeming to make it, and the utter loss of truthfulness which follows on such evasions.

There are passages in both these volumes which suggest that a somewhat bitter prejudice may have disturbed Lord Amberley's judgment. "The gospels," says he, "(excepting perhaps the fourth) were the work of many authors, though ultimately compiled and edited by a single hand." In presence of such a statement, it seems like wantonness to speak of the person who added the closing verses of the second gospel as a "forger." The Book of Daniel is described as a fiction in the autobiographic form, but Daniel is said to have "contrived to obtain lucrative situations in the province of Babylon for Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego"; the suggestion of contrivance is only appropriate to a veritable transaction. The manifestly and highly imaginative utterance of Micaiah before Ahab and Benhadad is spoken of as Jehovah's "deliberate arrangement" of a "scheme for the overthrow of the king in the court of heaven." The editor speaks of the "pain and anguish" of Lord Amberley "as one by one he parted with portions of that faith which in boyhood and early youth had been the mainspring of his life." We do not for a moment doubt the reality of these feelings, but they ought to have taught him regard for the feelings of others. Fidelity does not necessarily involve indelicacy. Lord Amberley seems occasionally to go out of his way to wound Christian believers on points about which he must have known them to be specially sensitive. We shall not repeat the offence by quoting such passages; we may say, however, that a passage on page 296, and another on page 494 of the first volume appear like ingenuity in inflicting pain.

It is surprising to us that a believer in the doctrine of evolution, as Lord Amberley proclaims himself to be, should have overlooked a most significant, perhaps the most significant, feature in the comparative history of religious belief,—the unexampled capacity of development in Christianity, its power of clearing itself from the imperfections attaching to its rudimentary form; its ability to lay hold on the strong races of men, to elevate them, and to expand through the whole process of their elevation. It is the signal defect of this book that the typical form of faith is sought not in its late and high developments, but by the elimination of all that has characterised its growth and the examination of its most meagre form.

In his second book, a short appendix of about a hundred and twenty pages, Lord Amberley treats of "the nature of faith," and inquires if there is "any such thing as positive truth in the sphere of religion, and if so, what it is." It is profoundly interesting to mark his endeavours to escape from absolute scepticism, to find a rational justification for his conviction that there is a correspondence between the objective and subjective in religion, and that human life is not wholly a riddle or an illusion. That he found a temporary resting-place in the conception of the fundamental identity of object and subject, "the human mind, and the ultimate source both of mind and matter is well"; to many, we think, it will seem that his analysis is terminated arbitrarily, that feeling rather than logical necessity called a halt. Some will think his account of the origin of consciousness defective, and will say that he has done no more than his predecessors to depose personality from its seat as the ultimate fact of the universe. And others will regard his determination to find a vindication for his belief in the credibility of the human faculties as a remnant of superstition. Few, indeed, will suppose that he has solved the problem he is concerned with. But it is impossible not to feel the charm of the author and his book. Strange inconsistencies appear throughout; candour and prejudice, tenderness and inconsideration, noble aspirations and an almost entire absence of devoutness. Of the religious value of the feeling of dependence he knows nothing, or he could not have spoken as he has of prayer and praise; and yet he would relieve his solitude by a worship, to us on his premises inconceivable, "the communing of the mind with its unknown Source." We cannot commend the book as at all a valuable contribution to the religious controversies of the day, but we have found it unfailingly interesting. How the teaching of these volumes might have been modified had Lord Amberley lived to carry out his thought of giving us another treatise on the ethics of religion it is useless to speculate; the present treatise remains, too pathetically like the course he ran, a fragment of a life earnest but incomplete.

[*] *An Analysis of Religious Belief.* By Viscount AMBERLEY. In two volumes. (London: Trübner and Co.)

WILLIAM LOVETT.[*]

The name of William Lovett is familiar to the older class of reformers in this country as that of a man who, in difficult times and circumstances, was a champion of the rights of the working classes, and who suffered, as well as

[*] *The Life and Struggles of William Lovett in his Pursuit of Bread, Knowledge, and Freedom.* (London: Trübner.)

laboured, in a cause which has since become triumphant. The struggles of such a man could not fail to be interesting to many readers who, although familiar with Mr. Lovett's name, are not sufficiently familiar with the details of his services to the various popular movements of the day. He lays no claim to literary merit, but his reminiscences are written in a plain, common-sense style, which will commend itself to the reader far more than if he had employed high-flown language or rhetorical forms of expression.

Born in the year 1800 in the little fishing town of Newlyn, near Penzance, Mr. Lovett's childhood was spent in a primitive state of society, such as even now may exist in remote nooks of the same county. At a comparatively early age he came up to London, where he had great difficulty in finding employment as a cabinet-maker. He soon joined a literary society of Liberal working-men, before whom—having read a course of Paley—he defended Christianity. After his marriage, he joined the first London Co-operative Trading Association so long ago as 1828; the original Co-operative Society having previously been established at Brighton by a person named Bryan. Lady Byron, at this early period, interested herself in these societies, and it is pleasant to read of her having subscribed 100*l.* to help the Spitalfields weavers to make silk pocket handkerchiefs. Robert Owen, on his return from America, was, in the first instance, disposed to regard the co-operative principle with disfavour, but subsequently he became a warm supporter of the movement. At the outset Mr. Lovett was dazzled by Mr. Owen's plans for the regeneration of the human race, but reflection taught him that if they were carried out, they would destroy individualism and reduce men to the level of machines. His views in this respect were confirmed by the failure of the New Harmony experiment. Mr. Owen looked upon fences as tending to perpetuate false ideas of the nature of property; and by his direction, all the fences on the estate were broken down, the consequence being that the pigs, not being confined to one field, roamed at large and destroyed the crops. It is a singular proof of the levelling influence of Mr. Owen's teaching that his followers at New Harmony had so much confidence in him that they would not interfere, although before their eyes they saw the results of his theory in the pigs eating up the corn. No wonder that a sensible man like Mr. Lovett held aloof from the crotchets of this amiable and well-meaning enthusiast. Here and there our author gives us a glimpse of Orator Hunt, but of much greater interest is his narrative of the early vicissitudes of the movement for the repeal of the taxes on knowledge. The *Poor Man's Guardian*, published on unstamped paper, was issued by Hetherington. The booksellers refused to sell it, and volunteers were therefore employed, who were offered one pound for every month they were imprisoned; while, on the other hand, the police paid a similar sum to informers for every person they were able to convict. There were numerous Government prosecutions, and many well-known politicians were punished, although, to the scandal of English justice, Lord Lyndhurst afterwards decided that the publication was a legal one.

The most interesting parts of Mr. Lovett's work are those in which he deals with the question of Parliamentary reform. In 1831 he joined a political association called the "National Union of the Working Classes and Others." This body proposed to hold a public meeting at White Conduit House, but Lord Melbourne interfered to prevent it, and Mr. Lovett—who soon became a marked man—was actually brought to trial for taking part in a procession similar to those which now so frequently meet in Trafalgar-square or Hyde Park. About this time he became acquainted with Mazzini, who had opened a school for poor Italian image and organ-grinding boys. "The National Union" was quickly followed by the London Working Men's Association, which at once signalised itself by a petitionably exposing the grievances of the Canadian insurgents. The petition of the same society in favour of conferring political power upon the people was entrusted to Mr. Roebuck, the committee believing him "to be one of the most staunch and resolute advocates of democratic principles in the House of Commons." On the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne, the association applied to the Home Secretary for permission to present an address to Her Majesty. Lord John Russell was quite willing to introduce the deputation, but notified to its members that they must attend in Court dress. This was the sturdy Radical's trenchant reply:—

> Working Men's Association,
> 6, Upper North-place, Gray's-inn-road,
> September 13, 1837.
>
> My Lord,—According to your answer of the 6th inst. we find that we are precluded by those forms which Gothic ignorance has imposed and custom sanctified, from personally presenting our address: for with every respect for those forms which make personal cleanliness and respectful behaviour necessary qualifications to approach Her Majesty, we have neither the means nor the inclination to indulge in such absurdities as dress-swords, coats, and wigs. We beg therefore to request that your lordship, in your official capacity, will at your earliest opportunity present our address to Her Majesty, in hopes she may chance to read the sentiments of a portion of her working-class population, which the necessity of appearing in court dress excludes from her presence. We hope, my lord, that the day is not distant when some better means will be devised for letting the sovereign hear of the addresses and petitions of the people. We remain, &c.,
> (Signed) W. LOVETT.

Mr. Lovett had no small share in drawing up the People's Charter, and in 1839 he was prosecuted for political libel. On the occasion of an attack which the police made upon an assemblage of men, women, and children, who met to consider the People's Charter at Birmingham, Mr. Lovett was responsible for drawing up and publishing resolutions which expressed the opinion that "a wanton, flagrant, and unjust outrage had been made upon the people of Birmingham by a bloodthirsty and unconstitutional force from London." This was strong language, but who will now say that it was too strong? For this offence he was tried at the Warwick assizes and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. One of his prison experiences is thus related:—

> In the course of the week the clergyman visited the prison for the purpose of questioning new prisoners regarding their religious persuasion; of which I believe a register is kept. How far any such record of the religion of prisoners is to be depended upon may be judged of by the following:—"We being new comers, some of the old stagers told us, as a valuable piece of information, that when we went into the parson's room he would ask each of us our names, trade, and religion; and that 'if we told him we were Catholics, the old codger would not ask us another word'; that having been the plan they had adopted themselves to prevent any unpleasant questioning respecting the church they attended or the creed they professed. We were cautioned, however, not to make a mistake in giving our trade for our religion, as a prisoner had done shortly before. It seems he had been schooled to give his replies in the order in which the questions were generally given; but, some variation having been made in the questioning, the prisoner, when asked what religion he was, said 'he was a pearl button maker.' This advice to us, though kindly given, I did not avail myself of; I merely said that I was of that religion which Christ taught, and which very few in authority practised, if I must judge from their conduct; but whether I was registered as Protestant, Catholic, or infidel I know not."

After his liberation, Mr. Lovett was entertained at a public dinner at the White Conduit House. We need hardly say that, when Mr. Joseph Sturge established the Complete Suffrage Association he found no half-hearted supporter in William Lovett. Among the other public men to whom the reader is introduced in these pages occur the names of Daniel O'Connell, William Howitt, Francis Place, George Thompson, and Serjeant Parry. To the latter, in particular, Mr. Lovett appears, all his life long, to have been under special obligations: and it affords us no little pleasure to join our own testimony with his to the ability, courage, and fidelity of Mr. Serjeant Parry as a political reformer.

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*EPOCHS OF ANCIENT HISTORY.**

The success which has followed the publication of the "Epochs of Modern History" has induced the publishers to begin a corresponding series of ancient history, and the first two volumes are before us. Our own opinion of the scheme was very favourable when it was first made known, as it has always seemed to us a desirable plan by which to teach history, assuming, of course, that the general outlines of the country's history thus broken into periods were known. The manner in which the scheme has been worked out in detail in the volumes which have come before us, has been extremely satisfactory; the periods have been well chosen, and the facts included in it have been grouped and described in an interesting way. The series to which we wish now to direct attention is similar in all respects to the former. It is placed under a general editorship, and the different periods are allotted to those writers who have special acquaintance with them.

The name of the Rev. G. W. Cox is a sufficient guarantee of the historical fidelity and accuracy of the volume, which contains the history of the struggle of the Greeks with the Persians. In the preface Mr. Cox says:—

> The history of this struggle forms a portion of that ground which I have had to traverse in the first volume of my "History of Greece." But although the materials have been necessarily rearranged, and much of the history is presented from a different point of view, I have given, much as I gave them in my larger volume, the descriptions of the most striking scenes or the most important actors in the great strife which carried Athens to imperial dominion. I felt that I could scarcely hope to make these descriptions more clear or forcible by giving them in different words, and that any attempt to write down to the capacities of young readers was wholly uncalled for in a history which in its vivid pictures and stirring interest appeals with equal force to the young and to the old alike.

Of the eight chapters into which the volume is divided, the last three are devoted to the struggle in which Athens gained such imperishable glory. The first two give an account of the origin and growth of Greek civilisation, and of the settlements and government of the Greeks generally. The forth and fifth chapters relate the history of Athens and of the Ionic Revolt; the third furnishing a sketch of the Persian Empire under Cyrus, Kambyses, and Dareios. It will be seen from this account that the volume has a completeness and unity which render it of value to readers other than those found on the upper forms of primary schools. It is indeed full of interest from its style as well as its subject. Our readers can judge, from the following comparison between the Greeks and the subjects of Eastern Empires, of Mr. Cox's method of treatment.

> Even with these points of likeness in their language and their religion, it might be thought that the vast social and intellectual differences between the lowest and the most advanced of the Greek tribes rendered all general comparisons impossible. Yet, if we contrast them with the subjects of the great Asiatic empires, we must at once mark distinctions which fully justify us in speaking of a Greek national character. For the Assyrian or the Persian the human body was a thing to be insulted and mutilated at his will, to be disgraced by servile prostrations, or to be offered in sacrifice to wrathful and bloodthirsty deities. For him woman was a mere chattel, while his children were possessions of which he might make profit by selling them into slavery. Of these abominable usages the Greek practically knew nothing; and as he would have shrunk from gouging out of eyes and the slitting of ears and noses, so, on the other hand, the sight of the unclothed body which carried to the Oriental a sense of unseemliness and shame, filled him with delight, and the exhibition of this form in games of strength and skill became, through the great festivals of the separate or collective tribes, bound up intimately with his religion. Yet, further, this respect for the person was accompanied by a moral self-respect which would submit to no unseemly humiliations. The Greek despot might be guarded by the spears of foreign mercenaries, but his subjects would as soon have thought of returning to primitive cannibalism as of approaching him with the slavish adoration of Persian nobles.

The story of the "Early Empire" which Mr. Capes has had to tell, and has told well, is a striking contrast in one respect to that of Mr. Cox. This is of heroism, civilisation, and patriotism, victorious over servile numbers, tyranny, and greed of territory. That of the corruption and incipient decadence of one of the noblest states of which ancient Europe could boast. The limits assigned to himself by the writer, or by the general editors, are the death of Julius Cæsar and that of Domitian.

The century and half bounded by these two events formed a period which was divided under the rule of eleven emperors. Of these one died by his own hand, six by the hands of others, and one was supposed to have been smothered to accelerate the death that was imminent. The length of their reigns was very unequal, their characters were almost monotonous in badness. Such as they were, however, they lived through one of the most important periods of the world's history; their characters, their absoluteness, and their strifes, all tended to loosen the bonds by which the new life of the world was restrained. Of these early emperors Mr. Capes has made a most careful study; to the requisite fulness of knowledge he adds clearness of perception for personal characteristics; and these qualities give freshness and sharpness to his delineations. Following the narratives of the emperors are several chapters on constitutional government, the powers of the rulers, the nature of Roman Law, the state of trade in Rome, and the condition of Italy generally. Of the moral condition of the age Mr. Capes does not take so desponding a view as some writers. He examines the sources of our information, and pleads that satire is not fair evidence; and in the case of Juvenal the satire may have been the result of disappointment, and is too vehement to be fair. While on the other hand, we have the growth of the Stoic philosophy which exhibited moral power. To this Mr. Capes adds a revived religious sentiment:—

> It is true that we still hear caustic jibes at the old myths, and Juvenal tells us that none but children believe the legends of the poets; but it was possible to give them up without much loss of reverence and faith. They had never had much hold upon the Latin mind, whose earlier creed was one of simple naturalism, or dealt with the abstractions of pure thought rather than with forms of personifying fancy. The venerable hymns and rituals still appealed to the devotion of the people, and did not shock the inquiring reason. Polytheism is naturally so loose and undogmatic in its creeds that all were free to choose the elements that satisfied their thought or inclination, and now were driven into unbelief by the sweeping claims and threats of an intolerant priesthood.

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* *Epochs of Ancient History.* Edited by Rev. G. W. COX, and CHARLES SANKEY, M.A. (1.) *The Greeks and the Persians.* By the Rev. G. W. COX, M.A. (2.) *Roman History: the Early Empire.* By W. W. CAPES, M.A. (London: Longmans.)

Again, Mr. Capes tells us in conclusion :—

We have another source of evidence of the extent of popular belief in the numerous inscriptions which enshrine many of the most cherished feelings of every social class and race. They point to the countless thank-offerings that grateful piety had yet to give. Temples, altars, votive tablets, were set up for centuries by pagan hands; statues and pictures of the gods were still the objects of religious veneration; the worship of domestic *lares*, or the ancestral spirits of the house, leaves its trace on every monumental stone. The epitaphs attest in every variety of tone the hopes and fears of a life beyond the grave, and the yearning sympathy of those still left behind. Even the old ancies of the poets, the legendary forms of Charon, Cerberus, and Pluto, linger still in popular memory, and leave their trace in the language of the tombs. Many of the popular beliefs were strong enough to resist for ages the spread of Christian thought. Even when they seemed to yield they only changed their language and their symbols, and noiselessly maintained their ground in the service of devotional art. For when the final struggle came the religions of Paganism died hard. With the early Empire a strong reaction had set in, growing constantly in intensity from the greater spiritual depth of Eastern creeds, and from the mystical and moralising tone of philosophic thought.

*J. R. GREEN'S STRAY STUDIES.**

This is a very charming book; one which we can recommend with the greatest confidence that it will please any reader whatever his tastes may be. Its charm consists partly in its variety, partly in the ease and beauty of its style, partly also in the nature of the subjects chosen by Mr. Green. The first essay is eminent in all these features. The subject of it is the late Edward Denison—"a brother of the poor"—and is one that excites our interest even to a painful degree. We are glad to find that the writer knew Mr. Denison, and that he was the clergyman to whom Mr. Denison applied for an opportunity to work amongst the poor. Mr. Green thus describes his introduction :—

It was in the midst of a host of worries such as these [those belonging to a clergyman's Monday morning], that a card was laid on my table with a name which I recognised as that of a young layman from the West-end, who had for two or three months past been working in the mission district attached to the parish. Now, whatever shame is implied in the confession, I had a certain horror of laymen from the West-end. Lay co-operation is an excellent thing in itself, and one of my best assistants was a letter-sorter in the post-office close by: but the laymen from the West-end, with a bishop's letter of recommendation in his pocket and a head full of theories about heathen masses, was an unmitigated nuisance. I had had a pretty large experience of these gentlemen, and my one wish in life was to have no more. Some had a firm belief in their own eloquence, and were zealous for a big room and a big congregation. I got them a big room; but I was obliged to leave the big congregation to their own exertions, and in a month or two their voices faded away. Then there was the charitable layman, who pounced down on the parish from time to time, and threw about meat and blankets till half of the poor were demoralised. Or there was the statistical layman, who went about with a note-book, and did spiritual and economical scenes in the way of dividing the number of people in the free seats by the number of bread tickets annually distributed.

Then, after further description of this amusing kind, Mr. Green continues :—

It was with no peculiar pleasure that I rose to receive this fresh layman from the West; but a single glance was enough to show me that my visitor was a man of very different stamp from his predecessors. There was something in the tall, manly figure, the bright smile, the frank winning address of Edward Denison that inspired confidence in a moment. "I come to learn and not to teach," he laughed, as I hinted at theories and their danger."

Those who are interested in schemes for social improvement should read this essay, as containing much that is the fruit of observation and practical knowledge; and those who are not specially so, should read it to make a more personal acquaintance with the heroic subject of it. There is another essay in the volume on District Visiting and the District Visitor, which shows great shrewdness of observation and a keen perception of the weakness as well as of the value of parochial charity done by lady visitors.

As an historian Mr. Green gives us several stray studies on points in our own history, of one of which he says, "A few pages will be found to repeat what I have already said in my 'Short History.'" "Lambeth and its Archbishops," is a sketch which extends from the eleventh to the nineteenth century, but which treats most fully of Lambeth in the palmy days when Erasmus and Colet were frequent visitors. Mr. Green is a Liberal Churchman, and in sympathy with the political and intellectual movements of the age; but he is an ardent admirer of the spirit of the Church to which he belongs, and though we cannot perfectly agree with him, we feel that in justice to him we ought to reproduce his sentiments in reference to it :—

Great as are the faults of the Church of England, these are merits which make men, who care more for the diffusion of culture than for the propagation of this shade or that shade of religious opinion, shrink from any immediate wish for her fall. And they are merits which spring from this: that she is still a learned Church, not learned in the sense of purely theological or ecclesiastical learning, but a Church which is able to show among its clergy men of renown in every branch of literature—critical, poetical, historical, or scientific. How long this distinction is to continue her own it is hard to say; there are signs, indeed, in the theological temper which is creeping over the clergy that it is soon to cease. But the spirit of intelligence, of largeness of view, of judicious moderation, which is so alien from the theological spirit, can still look for support from the memories of Lambeth. Whatever its influence may have been, it has not grown out of the noisy activity of theological "movement." Its strength has been to sit still and let such "movements" pass by. It is by a spirit the very opposite of theirs—a spirit of conciliation, of largeness of heart—that it has won its power over the Church. None of the great theological impulses of this age or the last, it is sometimes urged, came out of Lambeth. Little of the theological bitterness, of the controversial narrowness of this age or the last, it may fairly be answered, has ever entered its gates. Of Lambeth, we may say what Matthew Arnold says of Oxford, that, many as are its faults, it has never surrendered itself to ecclesiastical Philistines. In the calm, genial silence of its courts, its library, its galleries, in the presence of its venerable past, the virulence, the petty strife, the tumult of religious fanaticism finds itself hushed. Amongst the storm of the Wesleyan revival, of the evangelical revival, of the Puseyite revival, the voice of Lambeth has ever pleaded for a truth simpler, larger, more human than theirs. Amid the deafening clamour of Tractarian and Anti-Tractarian disputants both sides united in condemning the silence of Lambeth. Yet the one word that came from Lambeth will still speak to men's hearts when all their noisy disputations are forgotten. "How," a prelate whose nearest relative had joined the Church of Rome, asked Archbishop Howley, "How shall I treat my brother?" "As a brother," was the Archbishop's reply.

Readers of Mr. Carlyle's "Past and Present" will be glad to have the further information which a paper in this volume gives us of Abbot Sampson and his abbey in their relations to the town of Bury St. Edmunds. Those interested in Oxford will find an intstructive article on the early history of the city. Besides these papers there are several pleasing sketches of travel and of foreign cities, one a purely literary study—Æneas—and two or three lighter papers on Children by the Sea, Buttercups, that is, the blooming school-girl, and another on the Poetry of Wealth. Altogether this is a volume for which we thank the author, and which will be found a suitable companion for the month's ramble, or retreat, to which most of us are looking forward.

* *Stray Studies from England, and England and Italy.* By JOHN RICHARD GREEN. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1876.)

BRIEF NOTICES.

Human Nature: a Mosaic of Sayings, Maxims, Opinions, and Reflections on Life and Character. Selected and arranged by DAVID W. MITCHELL, author of "Ten Years in the United States." (Smith, Elder and Co.) Books of this sort are apt to err by want of a defined object. There is no reason either that they should exist, or that a dozen similar ones should not exist. They are, generally, a heterogeneous jumble of discordant extracts forced together under arbitrary headings; and are apt to mislead the reader, and to make him fancy he knows more than he really does. Mr. Mitchell has kept clear of the most common mistake—he takes care to make his passages subservient to a distinct plan. Miscellaneousness is avoided by a classification which, though of course imperfect, presents the collected thoughts in a fairly logical order, based, as a glance at the contents will show, on the phenomena of mind. Very many of the sentences stand as independent and dogmatic in the original as in this volume. "The variety of opinion among our greatest teachers will warn the reader against hastily subscribing to any set of maxims—will show him how few absolute general truths there are, and how the wisest rules must be modified according to place, time, and circumstance, and will perhaps teach the still teachable, modesty and caution, and respect for views opposed to their own." This then, is a good plan and a good intention, and Mr. Mitchell has carried it out well. Most of the passages being from classical authors were already known to us, but this we do not remember to have read before :—"A person speaking in a slighting manner of a very original-minded man, received for answer—'He strides on so far before you, that he dwindles in the distance.'" We must express our surprise, however, that in such a book as this Nathaniel Hawthorne and George Eliot are not more adequately represented. The book is got up with more than ordinary taste and care.

Simon the Cyrenian, and other Poems. By JOHN S. MONSELL, LL.D. (George Bell and Sons.) Dr. Monsell was a man of rich nature, and occasionally commanded fine expression. Often he was diffuse, but sometimes almost perfect. The present little volume is a reissue of poems, with some additions. These consist of translations of well-known hymns, one or two poems of the family affections, a few poems "In Memoriam"—notably that on Dr. Norman Macleod; and a very finished poem—"Meeting the Dead," which we can admire for finish, though ideas are suggested with which we do not agree. Though Dr. Monsell had a fund of "rale Irish fun," it did not often escape into verse; but here we have a specimen of it, so native, so true, that we must extract it :—

ERIN.

Know ye the land where the shout and shilleleagh
Are emblems of deeds that are done in their clime,
Where kindness long past will but little avail a
Poor landlord who asks for his rents in good time?

Know ye the land where potatoes and whisky
Seem all people want their enjoyment to crown,
Where the men are so fierce, and the women so frisky,
You'll with fun be knock'd up, or with fists be knock'd down?

And yet where, despite all their faults, there's a kindness
Which charms, though with cunning and funning it blends
On your tricks a keen eye, to your failings a blindness,
Which cannot see aught that's amiss in a friend.

Where, despite all their wrongs, still with hearts true and loyal,
Yet, children like, glad both to keep and to give,
For all that is right, and for all that is royal,
They are ready to die, but would much rather live.

And yet what a blight seems to hang o'er her mountains,
What a pitiful sorrow to weep from her skies,
What misfortunes now soil, and now dry up the fountains,
Whence all the fresh springs of her greatness should rise?

Alas for a nation so hopelessly trustful,
So slow to see what will be, from what has been,
Whose eyes, though so brilliant, are always so dustful,
Whose plains and whose people are always so green!

Know ye this land? who on earth does not know it?
By the strange contradictions its contrasts recall,
The prey of the plotter!—the pride of the poet!
The plague of the statesman! the puzzle of all!

'Tis an isle of the ocean! a gem of the sea!
Which wants only freedom from self, to be free!

Crime in England and Wales; an Historical and Critical Retrospect. By William Hoyle. (Effingham Wilson.) Mr. Hoyle's reputation as a statistician and a writer on grave social questions will be enhanced by this new work, unless, indeed, his figures are successfully impeached. He undertakes the refutation of Lord Aberdare, who at the last Social Science Congress, quoted statistics to prove that there had been a considerable diminution in the serious crime of the country. Mr. Hoyle takes exactly the opposite view, and insists that the ratio of crime is from twenty to fifty per cent. higher than it has ever been. Lord Aberdare lays stress upon the relative decline in the number of committals, but Mr. Hoyle points out that many offences which were formerly indictable are now dealt with summarily by the magistrates. Moreover, he avers that the increase in the committals of magistrates in 1873-74 compared with 1859-60 amounts to fifty-six per cent., although the population has only increased eighteen per cent. Mr. Hoyle attributes this fearful state of things to the increasing prevalence of intemperance. No person solicitous for the well-being of the country can read his book without a shudder. But will not Lord Aberdare have something to say in reply?

British Trade, or Certain Conditions of our National Prosperity. By Professor KIRK. (Hamilton, Adams and Co.) Professor Kirk in his work reveals himself to the public as a stern and uncompromising political economist. He is particularly unsparing in his exposure and denunciation of the economic fallacies which, in his view, are so current among working men.

Raise more food from the soil, more coal and ore from the mine, produce more clothing, and build more houses, till all things are more cheaply purchased, and in defiance of all that could oppose, you have more wealth if you have not a fraction more money wages; do the reverse, and just as certainly as nothing can never be something, you are in the end poorer.

From this extract it will rightly be inferred that Mr. Kirk is dead against strikes, which in fact he regards as an unmitigated evil to the working man. His logic is very keen and forcible. We have seldom read anything better than the reasoning by which he demonstrates that labour-saving machines multiply labourers. He denounces the waste occasioned by tobacco and drink; attacks the freedom of contract by which landlords exact too much rent; inveighs against the co-operative system, and advocates the paying of the National Debt. Professor Kirk is a controversialist of no limited range or common mettle.

Effectual Reform. By H. TRAVIS, M.D. (Longmans.) Dr. Travis propounds a modification of Robert Owen's theories of reform. He thinks that the weak point of Mr. Owen's system, and the one to which its failure should be attributed, was its rejection of the doctrine of human responsibility. According to the philosopher of New Lanark, man

was entirely the creature of circumstances. Dr. Travis, on the other hand, thinks that man himself, apart from the conditions in which he is placed, has a hand in moulding his own character, and fixing his own destiny. At the same time, he is of opinion that Robert Owen was the discoverer of a great truth, and that, if we reflected to how great an extent our fellow creatures are influenced by the conditions which surround them, we should think more kindly of their shortcomings, and labour more earnestly and more practically for their improvement. Concerning Dr. Travis's benevolence, it is impossible to harbour a doubt; but it appears to us that he has occupied much time and space in establishing simple truisms.

The Adventures of Tom Sawyer. By MARK TWAIN. (Chatto and Windus.) Those who come to this book expecting a series of sketches calculated to provoke the broad grin will be disappointed, though they will find a genuine touch of humour here and there. Mr. Mark Twain has given us a readable and interesting sketch of boy-life with just the sort of lively incident that falls in so well with its idea; but nothing more sensational than this. He is very frank in telling us about the original characters, and we are quite inclined to accept them as they are. It is a bright, most readable, and informing book, which we can most cordially recommend to the evergrowing class who are on the outlook for such books. The ending is not so satisfactory as might be expected, however, in spite of his clever caveat. "It being strictly the history of a boy," he says, "it must stop here; the story could not go much farther without becoming the history of a man. When one writes a novel about grown people, he knows exactly where to stop—that is, with marriage; but when he writes of juveniles he must stop where best he can."

Golden-lane: Quaint Adventures and Life Pictures. By G. HOLDEN PIKE. With an introductory chapter on the costers and Mr. Orsman's work by the Right Hon. the Earl of Shaftesbury. (James Clarke and Co.) Mr. Pike has here given us a series of realistic and striking descriptions, together with a succinct account of a most remarkable machinery, which has been as unostentatious in its development as it has been successful in its aim. Mr. Orsman has devoted his whole spare time to the improvement, physical, moral, and religious, of the costermongering population who crowd the precincts of Golden-lane; he has gained their confidence, and has done not a little to work a real reformation in that quarter. For the manner in which he has been led step by step, till now he has organised what might be called an almost complete parochial machinery, by which he has made himself permanently present in the district, with intimate knowledge of every man, woman, and child in it, our readers must go to the volume itself. They will learn not a little as to the ways of the poor in our great metropolis, and also of their besetting vices and their straits. But no sentimental ideas have scope in the administration, though a vast deal of good is done, and distress removed, as well as good words spoken. On this point Mr. Pike writes well:—

> In a place like Golden-lane it is easy to pauperise if a man allows himself to be carried away by mere feeling without exercising due circumspection, and from what we have heard we have reason to fear that something of this kind has been done by persons who are not connected with Mr. Orsman's mission, and who collect funds to distribute them again without due care and inquiry. It is lamentable that such should be the case, and that the well meaning should so often miss their mark. Such persons unquestionably do infinite harm. The poor may mistake them for friends, but they are not so. They hinder the work of others who have more wisdom than themselves, and further blunt the already too dull perceptions of the people they gather around them.

But very different is the mode adopted by Mr. Orsman, who has had very genuine cases of "change" to report as the reward of his wisdom and self-denial. The book is very interesting, more especially that it gives graphic and touching accounts of many individual cases; it is well illustrated, and altogether is most attractive.

Wildfire, a Collection of Erratic Essays. By CHARLES J. DUNPHIE. (Tinsley Brothers.) That there is some cleverness and readiness of nice expression in these essays we cannot deny, but they lack the original thought and general stamina which alone can be taken to justify the collected reprint of fugitive writings. Now and then we have the utmost commonplace, sauced and served up again with an air of indescribable smartness and self-conceit which sometimes verges too closely on being offensive. "Vis Comica" is very poor, and the "Delights of Deception" only a degree better. The "Pleasures of Silence" is much better. But though we cannot say that we have read the volume with unalloyed pleasure, we can easily perceive that Mr. Dunphie, with care and a little more self-severity may yet write essays which may be well worthy of collection and preservation. And that ought not to be taken as merely smart depreciation.

Pidgin-English Sing-Song; or Songs and Stories in the China-English Dialect. With a Vocabulary. By CHARLES G. LELAND. (Trübner and Co.) Once master the grotesque peculiarities of this Pidgin-English, and much fun is in store for you. Mr. Leland manages to convey a deal of truth through this odd medium, and now and then he rises into real poetic feeling, which is intensified by the contrast in which it stands to the utterly hard and prosaic views which predominate. The word "pidgin," Mr. Leland explains, is derived, as is generally supposed, from the English word, business, and indicates the difficulty with which Chinese master our pronunciation. It is also characteristic of the jargon, from the incredible variety of meanings which it assumes. As the term *wallah* in Hindu and that of *engro* in Rommany, are applicable to any kind of active agent, so *pidgin* is with great ingenuity made expressive of every variety of calling, occupation, or affair. As *business* or commerce is the great bond of union between the Chinese and foreign residents, it is not remarkable that this should be the chief and ever-recurring word, and gives its name to the language formed in its service. One great aid is to notice that the *r* in *Pidgin* uniformly becomes *l*, *d* becomes *t*, and the *g*, *k*, as in *kilin* for green, *lain* for rain, *lut* for *bed*. This common nursery rhyme in Pidgin will a little familiarise the eye to the dialect:—

> Little Jack Horner
> Makee sit insi le corner,
> Chow chow he *c*hristmass pie,
> He put inside t'um,
> Hab catchee one plum,
> *Hai yah!* What one good chilo my!

After that a poem headed "Proverbs" may be enjoyed; it is intensely characteristic and true:—

> Who man swim best, t'hat man most getee *d*own,
> Who *l*ideo best, he most catch tumble down.
>
> One piecee blind man hea*l*ee best maskee,
> One piecee deaf man makee best look-see.
>
> One-time in taushan wise man no tellee light,
> One-time in taushan fools shinee b*l*ight.
>
> Supposey you no make look-see for mo*l*low,
> You ve*l*ly soon to-day make catchee so*l*low.
>
> One piecee for t'hat *l*ain make p*l*ay,
> T*l*aveller chin-chin for sunshine allo' day.
>
> You catch no needle sha*l*p at both 'he ins,
> You blongey no all good man 'mong you f*l*ins.
>
> Suppose you sarvy wit t*l*ee day come by,
> You catchee plenty dolla*l*, f*l*in, *fa ti'ai*.
>
> One man who never leedee,
> Like one d*l*y inkstan' be;
> You turn he top side downy,
> No ink *l*un outside he.
>
> You tongue be soft—you tongue be long tim last,
> You teet'h be hard—but teet'h he wail*l* fast.
>
> Supposey you one top-side man,
> No squeezee man below;
> Supposey you blongey bottom-side.
> Let top-side be, galow.
>
> You no hab pidgin, you no *l*ite or *l*ead;
> One *l*oad, no t*l*avel catchee plenty weed.
>
> Suppose one man much bad—how bad he be,
> One not'her bad man may be f*l*aid of he.

Mr. Leland has done the *Pidgin* into song as successfully as he did the Broitmann dialect and the Rommany, and has thus made a new claim on our gratitude for having at once amused and instructed us.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

By order of the Canadian judicial authorities, a fugitive criminal from the United States has been handed over to the American courts.

It is stated that this year's vintage in the Bordeaux districts will be very poor. It is estimated at only one-fourth of the ordinary yield.

Forty-two persons are reported to have been killed and forty-seven others seriously injured by an explosion of firedamp, which has occurred in the coal-mine of L'Hôpital, near St. Avold, in Lorraine.

At a meeting of the Republican Left at Paris on Thursday, the compromise respecting the Municipal Bill proposed by the committee was definitively voted by a large majority.

Information has been received from China that on the 3rd of June the first section of the Shanghai-Woosung Railway, from Shanghai to Kangwang, was officially opened. It is now in use by the public. The Chinese crowd the trains.

News of a terrible shipwreck has been telegraphed from Batavia. According to this intelligence the Netherlands India Steam Navigation Company's steamer Lieutenant-General Kroesen struck upon a rock not marked in the chart, parted amidships, and almost immediately sunk, forty-nine of the crew and 156 passengers being drowned.

ALLEGED MASSACRE AT FIJI.—Australian advices report serious disturbances as having taken place at Viti Levu, Fiji, where the mountain tribes descended on and sacked several native villages. It is stated that thirty villages have been ravaged, and men, women, and children massacred, many of them being thrown into the burning houses and roasted alive.

THE DEATH OF M. CASIMIR-PERIER, at the age of sixty-five, took place on Thursday last. In the Senate, M. Martel, who presided in the absence of the Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier, M. Casimir-Périer's brother-in-law, reported the event, and made a speech, in which he pointed out that M. Périer, following in the steps of his father, never forsook the path of order and liberty. After paying homage to the services rendered by the deceased to his country as a diplomatist and statesman, the speaker added:—"M. Périer laboured as a steady worker and an excellent citizen at the constitutional task which gave a definitive government to France." The Senate adjourned at its rising on Tuesday.

THE ALABAMA INDEMNITY.—The House of Representatives has passed by 108 to 94 the Geneva Award Bill, having previously defeated a substitute bill admitting the claims of insurance companies by 149 to 35. The bill as passed extends the duration of the Alabama Claims Court till July 22, 1877, admitting two new classes of claims—first, claims directly resulting from damage on the high seas inflicted by any Confederate cruisers; and, secondly, claims for payment of premium for war risks after any Confederate cruiser had sailed. The first class of claims to be paid before the second if the award be insufficient for both. The bill goes to the Senate.

THE INDIAN WAR IN AMERICA.—Some particulars respecting the disaster which has overtaken the United states troops in Montana are supplied by the correspondent of the *Times*, who telegraphs as follows:—"General George A. Custer's expedition against the Sioux Indians in the Black Hills country met with a terrible defeat on the 25th of June. From couriers now arriving at Fort Ellis, Montana, it appears that Custer, who commanded the 7th Cavalry regiment of twelve companies, heard of a camp of 2,500 Indians on Little Horn River, about thirty miles from its mouth. Marching to attack it, Custer with five companies charged into the thickest portion of the camp, while Major Reno, with four companies, marched to make an attack in rear, three companies remaining as a reserve. Custer's attacking party fell into an ambuscade in a deep ravine, and were every one slain. Custer, his two brothers, brother-in-law, and nephew, with seventeen other officers, were killed. The total loss was 315 killed in the ambuscade. The only knowledge obtained of the progress of Custer's party was by tracing its path by the dead. After the massacre the Indians surrounded Reno's command, holding him in the hills one day; but afterwards, being unable to join the reserves, he found the Indians had suddenly decamped, taking their wounded with most of their dead. Upon searching for Custer, they found 207 bodies in one place, and buried them. The Indians got all the arms of the killed. Subsequently General Gibbon joined Reno, withdrawing all troops to the mouth of Little Horn, whence the expedition originally started. Reno had thirty-one wounded in his column. The dead were terribly mutilated by the Indians. Brief reports of this calamity, which involved the death of the entire Custer family, have caused a feeling of horror throughout the country. The news has been officially confirmed." The appointment of General Sheridan to the immediate command of the army now being collected to operate against the Sioux Indians would seem to indicate that the United States Government has determined to exterminate that unfortunate tribe.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.—Two communications from Dr. Kirk respecting the suppression of the land slave-traffic in the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar have been presented to Parliament. In April last Dr. Kirk drew the attention of the Sultan of Zanzibar to the fact that the slave-trade still went on by land from Kilwa to Pemba. He pointed out that the traffic was in the hands of low-class Arabs, and the Sultan not only admitted the force of our consul's arguments, but at once took steps to stop the trade by means of formal proclamations and threats of forcible interference. The despatches indicate that His Highness is not only desirous but even eager to suppress this nefarious traffic, and to meet our views in every possible way with reference to the matter. Dr. Kirk, however, says the Sultan stands alone in his hostility to slave-dealing. His people to a man are against his anti-slavery policy. "His governors, ill paid, are often open to other influences, and have for the most part been themselves too often engaged in the traffic to look on it as a crime." On April 20 Dr. Kirk forwarded copies of the proclamations for stopping the land slave route, and the fitting out of slave-hunting expeditions for the interior, adding:—"Your lordship is aware that, through the preliminary action taken in this matter by me, the slave trade had been driven into the hands of Arabs of the lowest class, foreigners to Zanzibar, whose business it was to convey slaves from Kilwa by land, purchased with money obtained in Pemba or Lamo, and deliver them to their employers. These men, who, knowing the consequences in case of detection, did not hesitate to fire on our boats when escape of their slave cargo became otherwise hopeless, are not likely tamely to submit and give up their slaves to the miserable soldiery of Seyyid Burgash, or the authority of his governors, and as I shall now take even greater pains than before to be informed, and so force the local authorities to act, collisions on the

coasts are therefore almost certain. I have therefore renewed your lordship's assurances of assistance and support from the British authorities, should the steps His Highness has taken make them necessary, and I shall see that your lordship's assurances are carried into effect."

THE WAR IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

There have been abundant reports daily during the week, which perplex the mind instead of furnishing reliable news. The English specials are now, however, appearing on the scene, and the *Daily News* correspondent sends the following telegram dated Belgrade, Saturday evening:—"Leschjanin, after three days' hard fighting, still stands fast in Saitschar. The only success of the Turks is the burning of the frontier village of Wiclicki Isvor. Olimpiz, in the north-west, is still fighting about Belina. Zach, on the south-west, was to cross the frontier to-day from Uzitza to create a diversion in favour of the Montenegrins pressing Mukhtar Pacha at Graczo. It seems that General Tchernaieff crossed the frontier at three points; one column at Sipovaz on the right, and the centre column at Drasbewatz. Both marched forward to Nisch, and now after hard fighting they stand over against Nisch, respectively at Vopolnitza and Babina Glava. The third column crossed the frontier to the left by the Grumada pass, and avoiding Nisch altogether, struck due south to Palanka, which it holds, and which is on the forks of the roads leading to Nisch and Widdin. Palanka blocks the Clusura pass through the Balkans, the only one practicable for artillery, and thus stops reinforcements for the Turks in both places. The Bulgarian insurrection, it is stated, was organised by General Tchernaieff on his way to Servia. The bloodshed has been, it is said, very heavy during the severe fighting of the week. The appliances for the wounded are wofully scanty. There is a noble field for the Sick and Wounded Society. A Servian force is at Deligratz, on the frontier pass, with 120 guns, to cover a retreat on Alexiatz if necessary."

The same correspondent telegraphs from Semlin on Sunday evening as follows:—"During the last eight days the Servians have fought ten actions, with a loss of 5,000 men. They have not always been victorious, but on the whole the result is satisfactory. There was a fearful tragedy at Belina. The Turks, during Almiwic's attack, massacred all the Christians residing in the place. General Tchernaieff stands fast, watching Mischand, holding the Palanka mouth of Balkan pass, and preventing the passage of Kerim Pasha with reinforcements. A Servian priest has crossed the south-western frontier opposite Zichigratch with a column of Bosnian refugees. General Zach, who was operating against Novi Bazar, has been superseded by Nicolaitch, the War Minister, in consequence of the failure he met with, which I have already telegraphed. The advanced guard of Leschjanin, *en route* for Widdin, is reported across the frontier at Beregoritz. The Bulgarian insurrection is said to be spreading widely. Belgrade is swarming with spies and alarmists. There are about three hundred wounded in the hospital there. Red Cross succour is urgently wanted. The enthusiasm everywhere is sober but fervid. The Servian artillery is reported to be admirably served, and is contributing vastly to the success of the army. Prince Milan yesterday complimented Madame Leschjanin on the soldierly conduct of her husband. Austrian gunboats are at Semlin and Belgrade."

The Turkish Government has sent the following telegram to its representatives abroad:—"An engagement was fought on the 6th near Senitza in the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar. The general of division, Mehemed Ali Pasha, only sent eight battalions of regular troops to oppose the Servian forces, which numbered 15,000 men. The Servians were defeated and fell back, pursued by our own troops, into their entrenchments, leaving 1,500 killed, an equal number of wounded, and a considerable quantity of rifles and ammunition on the field of battle."

Another account says that the Servians are short of ammunition, and their hospitals are full. The second reserves have left Belgrade. A telegram says the town is almost a desert; the streets are desolate, and no one is visible at the *cafés* except the old and decrepit.

There seems to be little doubt that General Zach was defeated in the sanguinary battle of the 6th, one proof of which is that he has been superseded, and that the Minister of War succeeds him.

The Turkish Government has sent the following telegram to the foreign embassies; it is dated Sunday night:—"The Servians, having the day before yesterday attacked the battery of Eski Kilese, forming part of the fortifications of Novi Bazar, were repulsed after two hours' fighting and put to rout by our troops. They left on the battlefield more than 500 killed, as many muskets and cartridge boxes, and a considerable number of wounded. Our artillery destroyed the cannon planted by the enemy on the eminence fronting our battery. In another engagement at Socidja our troops have completely destroyed the Servians, forced their entrenchments, and seized the munitions, arms, and cannons they found there. The Servian loss amounts to 200 men."

The *Estafette* publishes two telegrams, both from Semlin, and dated almost at the same moment. The special correspondent telegraphs:—"A battle is being fought in the valley of Nissava between Tchernaieff and Kerim Pasha. Serious fears are entertained as to the result. There is some idea of recalling Tchernaieff, and replacing him by Colonel Oreskovich. Preparations are being actively made at Kragujevatz for the possible removal of the seat of Government. The situation is considered full of danger."

The ordinary correspondent of the same paper writes:—"The capture of Zaicar and the destruction of the army of Timok are confirmed. General Tchernaieff has retreated to the frontier, his left wing under General Stratimirovitch having been utterly crushed. Tchernaieff's army is demoralised, and there is disagreement among the chief officers. The situation is very critical."

The Bey of Tunis has informed the Porte of his intention to despatch a regiment of troops to Constantinople.

The Khedive is sending troops to reinforce the Turks as fast as they can be despatched from Alexandria. Some 4,000 men have been despatched.

Troops, including artillery, have been sent by the Roumanian Government to the frontier for the purpose of preventing the passage of Turkish gunboats on the Danube in Servian and Roumanian waters.

In Monday's sitting of the Roumanian Chamber of Deputies, the President of the Ministry read a despatch announcing that Turkey has agreed to the request of the Roumanian Government to neutralise the Danube, on condition that Roumania prevents the formation of armed bands on her territory, and the supply of arms to the Servians. The Servians have (it is added) consented not to attack the fortified island of Adakale, which is supplied with provisions by Roumania.

On the 23rd ult. the *Daily News* published a letter from its correspondent at Constantinople giving an account of various atrocities committed in Bulgaria by the Moslems. These details, it will be recollected, at once formed the subject of inquiry in both Houses of Parliament. In the Lords, on the 26th ult, a question was put by the Duke of Argyll to Earl Derby respecting the occurrences described in the letter, and on the same evening Mr. W. E. Forster brought the matter to the notice of Mr. Disraeli. The *Daily News* now publishes additional and fuller information in support of the statements it originally made, some of it derived from official resources. In other cases it is contained in private letters from the scene of the events described. The *Times* also has information to the same effect from its correspondent, written by a man on whose thorough information, on whose impartiality, and even loyal attachment to the Ottoman Government he has every reason to rely. The following is the letter:—

As a general rule the officers and soldiers of the regular army have behaved very well. Chevket Pasha is the most striking exception. The governors of many of the towns have not only done well, but in some cases have acted heroically. The Government here has probably not ordered any general massacre of unarmed villagers, but it is directly responsible for these outrages, because it has known of them and made no effort to stop them, because it has ordered the disarming of the whole Bulgarian population, and then armed the Circassians and Bashi Bazouks and turned them loose upon these helpless towns. What has been done by these savages?—

1. More than a hundred Bulgarian towns have been utterly destroyed, although no pretext of revolutionary movements existed in regard to more than five or six of these. A province formerly bringing in a revenue of a million of pounds to the Government has been devastated. The names of these towns and all the particulars can be furnished to anyone who wishes to see them.

2. At least 25,000 unarmed and inoffensive people have been massacred in cold blood. According to the Turkish papers of Constantinople, at least 40,000.

3. More than 1,000 Bulgarian children have been taken and sold as slaves. They have been sold publicly in the streets of Adrianople and Philipopolis.

4. Horrible tortures of every description have been inflicted on thousands of those not murdered.

5. The outrages upon women have been far more general and more brutal than in any case I ever read of. These outrages are more terrible, because Bulgarian women have higher ideas of virtue and chastity than those of any other nationality in the East. If the women of England could know the facts, such a cry of indignation would go up as would rouse all Europe to action.

6. At least 10,000 Bulgarians are now in prison and are undergoing tortures, many of them, such as have not been known in Europe since the Middle Ages, and which were formerly declared to be abolished in Turkey by the Sultan Ab-dul Medjid.

7. Many thousand refugees are crowded in the larger towns, where they suffer all kinds of abuse from the Turkish population, and are starving to death because the Bulgarians are not allowed to help them.

Miscellaneous.

The London correspondent of the *Leeds Mercury* writes:—"I understand that Miss Martineau had not only completed her autobiography previous to her death, but she had also had it printed by an Ambleside printer, and corrected. The work will form two volumes, and will be illustrated by a number of woodcuts. All that remains to be done, in fact, is to have the sheets bound and issued by a publisher." The *Birmingham Post* says that Miss Martineau's will contains an express prohibition against the publication of any of her private letters, and a direction to her executors to prevent any such publication by all means in their power.

THE COST OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—A Parliamentary return just issued shows that the total cost of public elementary education in Great Britain and Ireland for 1874-75 was 5,289,036*l*. Of this sum 2,228,470*l*. was contributed by imperial grants, and 3,060,566*l*. was locally raised—897,858*l*. being derived from voluntary subscriptions, 1,198,098*l*. from school fees, 118,545*l*. from endowment, and 846,065*l*. from rates. The percentage of the total expenditure locally raised was 57·87.

SUMMER DIET.—With the change of weather all sensible people change their diet. The food that was suitable for last week is not by any means fitted for the weather we are at present enjoying. Fish should replace meat both at breakfast and luncheon, while fresh salads and well-cooked fruit should be taken instead of indigestible pastry and innutritious confections. Milk-and-water may be drunk by children and young people up to eighteen years of age, or for those who prefer it the milk may be combined with one of the natural mineral waters, such as Taunus or Apollinaris. No more powerful stimulant should be taken than claret or sherry by those who feel they must have something more than water, while they who are wise will adopt the most simple form of diet and avoid all unnatural extremes.—*Medical Examiner.*

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON FUGITIVE SLAVES.—An address has been presented to Mr. Disraeli by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in which they state "that they have read the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Fugitive Slaves with feelings of pain and regret; that it is shown in the evidence taken before the commission that these recommendations are not less at variance with those traditions of freedom which have so long guided the officers of Her Majesty's navy than they are repugnant to the ancient and most cherished instincts of the British people; that it is also shown in the report that Germany, Italy, and the United States confer absolute immunity on slaves escaping to their national ships. On the other hand, it is held by the commission that 'the desire of the slave to escape from slavery' constitutes no sufficient ground for affording him protection." The society, therefore, implore Government not to recognise, much less enforce, the policy thus indicated, which, they say, would inflict a stain on the Christian character of England, and degrade her in the eyes of Europe. In reply, Mr. Disraeli acknowledges the receipt of the letter.

THE ACTION AGAINST MR. ALBERT GRANT.—In the Common Pleas Division on Friday, Lord Coleridge and a special jury resumed the hearing of the action "Twycross *v.* Grant and others." It had been brought against Mr. Albert Grant and Messrs. Clark, Punchard, and Co., to recover the amount which the plaintiff had paid upon some shares in the Lisbon Steam Tramways Company (Limited). The ground upon which the action was brought was that two contracts which had been entered into with reference to the affairs of the company had not been mentioned in the prospectus. There had been an adjournment of some weeks, in consequence of the illness of a juryman, who was now enabled to attend. At the resumed hearing yesterday, Sir Henry James, in addressing the jury for the plaintiff, contended that there had been no fair commercial dealing in the transaction, but that there had been such a want of fair dealing that what had taken place must be looked upon as really a convertible term for fraud. Mr. Albert Grant then went through the evidence, contending that Mr. Twycross was a man who was well versed in business; he had entered into this company as a speculator, had so continued in it, he wound up the company as a speculator, he was now bringing this action in a similar character, and, having lost, was not entitled to ask that other persons should be made to pay for his losses. Mr. Grant was continuing his address to the jury when the further hearing of the case was adjourned until yesterday.

THE BOTANIC GARDENS, in the Regent's Park, presented last Wednesday evening a scene only occasionally witnessed in this country, where the weather is so uncertain as to make such displays somewhat hazardous. Last year the Botanic Society's annual *fete* was completely spoiled by the rain, and on Wednesday there seemed to be imminent danger of the same misfortune. Happily, however, a little spitting, lasting only a few minutes, was all that happened, and, as the temperature was high, ladies in evening costume, and without bonnets, did not shrink from promenading the gardens up to midnight. It was a brilliant scene, especially in the centre walk, which was lighted with festoons of gaslamps, with opal globes. Elsewhere coloured lamps and lanterns were skilfully hung amid the trees or placed among the water-lilies in the lake. In addition, the electric light was freely used, and, together with coloured fires, produced some remarkable effects on the trees and flowers, and the appearance of the visitors. Of course, there was something more to be seen in Botanical Gardens than even beautiful sights like these; though the floral display partook of the special character of the occasion. Bridal bouquets, table and buffet decorations, and hanging baskets were displayed in tents, and a dinner table set out with plate, glass, flowers, and fruit complete, attracted great attention. Three military bands gave pleasure to the ear, and royalty was represented by the Duke of Teck (the president of the society), who, with the duchess, put in an appearance late in the evening. The society's council are to be congratulated on the success of their careful arrangements, which must have afforded much gratification to the more than five thousand persons who were present.

A REAL SUMMER DELICACY.—ROSE'S LIME JUICE CORDIAL mixed with water, or as an effervescing drink, in soda or potash, cooling and refreshing, or blended with spirits it supplies a delightful and invigorating stimulant, sustaining exertion and extremely wholesome. Sold everywhere. Purchasers should be careful to order Rose's Lime Juice Cordial, all others being imitations. Wholesale stores 11, Curtain-road, Finsbury.

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

[A uniform charge of One Shilling (prepaid) is made for announcements under this heading, for which postage-stamps will be received. All such announcements must be authenticated by the name and address of the sender.]

MARRIAGES.

JEFFRYES—THORMAN.—July 1, at Victoria-park Congregational Church, by the Rev. R. H. Lovell, Thomas, son of James Jeffryes, of Clapton, to Sarah Ann, third daughter of Edward H. Thorman, of West Ham Gas Works, Stratford, Essex.

NEWCOMB—DAVISON.—July 1, at Bethel Congregational Chapel, Sunderland, by the Rev. J. O. Davis, Alfred John, second son of the late Mr. Henry Newcomb, of Chatham, to Isa, eldest daughter of the late Mr. John Davison, Sunderland.

RODGER—LORD.—July 4, at St. John's Parish Church, Penge, by the Rev. D. McAnally, M.A., Vicar, Charles Rodger, of Denmark Hill, to Lucy, only surviving daughter of T. W. Lord, Ampton-villa, Penge.

HOWE—THORNTON.—July 6, at the Methodist New Connexion Chapel, Armley, by the Rev. Dr. Cocker, assisted by the Rev. C. Bamford, Eli, son of Robert Howe, Huddersfield, to Anne, second daughter of Thomas Thornton, of Clifton House, Armley.

WHITTINGHAM—RITCHIE.—July 6, at the Congregational Church, Peterhead, Scotland, by the Rev. J. P. Ritchie (brother of the bride), assisted by the Rev. B. Solomon, William Elliott, second son of the late Mr. Walter Elliott Whittingham, of Walthamstow, Essex, to Maggie, second daughter of Mr. John Ritchie, of Peterhead.

DEATHS.

GRAY.—July 4, at No. 6, Langham-place, Northampton, Mabel Mary, the dearly-loved child of Parker and Ellen Gray, aged 5 years.

MALDEN.—July 4, at his residence, 39, Belsize-square, N.W., Henry Malden, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and for forty-five years Professor of Greek in University College, London, in his 76th year.

SMITH.—July 6, at the residence of her mother, 37, Church-street, Southport, in her 31st year, Marion Elizabeth, the beloved wife of the Rev. Frederick Smith, of Southport, and second daughter of the late T. W. Phillips, Esq., of Poplar-grove, Dudsbury. Friends will please accept this intimation.

EPPS.—July 7, at 89, Great Russell-street, London, Ellen, widow of the late John Epps, Esq., M.D., aged 67.

THROAT IRRITATION.—The throat and windpipe are especially liable to inflammation, causing soreness and dryness, tickling and irritation, inducing cough and affecting the voice. For these symptoms use glycerine in the form of jujubes. Glycerine, in these agreeable confections, being in proximity to the glands at the moment they are excited by the act of sucking, becomes actively healing. Sold only in 6d. and 1s. boxes (by post for 14 stamps), labelled, "JAMES EPPS and Co., Homœopathic Chemists, 48, Threadneedle-street, and 170, Piccadilly, London."

HOLLOWAY'S PILLS.—Sick Headaches.—Thousands suffer from this worrying annoyance when the body and brain are depressed in warm damp weather. Holloway's purifying Pills present a ready means of cure for indigestion, biliousness, and flatulency; in debilitated constitutions and nervous habits these Pills are the best restoratives; they correct all the unpleasant consequences of torpidity of the liver, they remove distention, and never fail to secure regular action. For all abdominal ailments Holloway's Pills are the safest possible medicine. They at once give ease and comfort, and naturally strengthen the whole series of organs concerned in the process of digestion, and will be found useful in every household.

THE "PARAGON" FRAGRANT LIQUID DENTIFRICE is pronounced by the Press, and several eminent dentists and physicians, the best Dentifrice in the world. It thoroughly cleanses and makes the teeth beautifully white, prevents tartar, and arrests decay. Being an antiseptic and astringent, it removes all disagreeable odour, from whatever cause arising, sweetens the breath, hardens the gums, prevents and fixes loose teeth. The "Paragon" has a most exquisite and delicate fragrance, and a flavour so delicious that it causes universal admiration. Sold in bottles at 1s. and 2s. 6d. by all chemists and perfumers, or sent to any address, carriage paid, for 15 or 33 stamps, by the sole proprietor, J. H. Bowen, 91, Wigmore-street, Cavendish-square, London, W.

RECKITT'S PARIS BLUE.—The marked superiority of this Laundry Blue over all others, and the quick appreciation of its merits by the public has been attended by the usual result—viz., a flood of imitations. The merit of the latter mainly consists in the ingenuity exerted, not simply in imitating the square shape, but making the general appearance of the wrappers resemble that of the genuine article. The manufacturers beg therefore to caution all buyers to see "Reckitt's Paris Blue" on each packet.

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Advertisements.

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KAYE'S WORSDELL'S PILLS. SUMMER MEDICINE. During summer suitable medicine should be taken, warm weather tending to disturb most of the animal functions. No remedy has yet been found to equal KAYE'S WORSDELL'S PILLS. Sold everywhere.

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(which saves fifty times its cost in medicine), and cures effectually indigestion (dyspepsia), habitual constipation, diarrhœa, hæmorrhoids, liver complaints, flatulency, nervousness, biliousness, all kinds of fevers, sore throats, catarrhs, colds, influenza, noises in the head and ears, rheumatism, gout, poverty and impurities of the blood, eruptions, hysteria, neuralgia, irritability, sleeplessness, low spirits, spleen, acidity, waterbrash, palpitation, heartburn, headache, debility, dropsy, cramps, spasms, nausea, and vomiting after eating, even in pregnancy or at sea, sinking fits, cough, asthma, bronchitis, consumption, exhaustion, epilepsy, diabetes, paralysis, wasting away; also the bitter feverish taste on waking up in the morning and the smell of tobacco and drinking. Twenty-eight years' invariable success with adults and delicate infants. 80,000 cures of cases considered hopeless. It contains four times as much nourishment as meat.

CURE of LIVER and BILIOUS COMPLAINTS. From the Rev. James T. Campbell, Syderstone Rectory, near Fakenham, Norfolk. Dec. 5, 1859.

"Gent'emen,—I have long known and appreciated the virtues of DU BARRY'S REVALENTA ARABICA FOOD. In all cases of indigestion, and particularly where the liver is more than usually affected, I consider it the best of all remedies. It regulates the bile, and makes it flow in cases which would not admit of mercury in any shape. In short, a healthy flow of bile is one of its earliest and best effects.—JAMES T. CAMPBELL."

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DU BARRY'S FOOD.—"Twenty-seven years' DYSPEPSIA, from which I have suffered great pain and inconvenience, and for which I had consulted the advice of many, has been effectually removed by this excellent Food in six weeks' time, &c.—PARKER D. BINGHAM, Captain Royal Navy.—London, 2nd October, 1848."

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DU BARRY'S FOOD.—LIVER, NERVES.—Cure No. 48,614. Of the Marchioness de Brehan.—"In consequence of a Liver Complaint, I was wasting away for seven years, and so debilitated and nervous that I was unable to read, write, or, in fact, attend to anything; with a nervous palpitation all over, bad digestion, constant sleeplessness, and the most intolerable nervous agitation, which prevented even my sitting down for hours together. I felt dreadfully low-spirited, and all intercourse with the world had become painful to me. Many medical men, English as well as French, had prescribed for me in vain. In perfect despair I took DU BARRY'S FOOD, and lived on this delicious food for three months. The good God be praised, it has completely restored me; I am myself again, and able to make and receive visits and resume my social position.—Marchioness DE BREHAN, Naples, April 17, 1859."

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SUPPLEMENT TO THE NONCONFORMIST.

VOL. XXXVII.—NEW SERIES, No. 1599. LONDON: WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, 1876. GRATIS.

THE EDUCATION DEBATE OF MONDAY.

(From our own Correspondent.)

On the occasion of the second reading of the Education Bill the discussion turned almost wholly on the question whether the bill sufficiently extended the principle of compulsion; it being understood that the religious difficulty would have its turn, when a promised amendment, to be moved by Mr. Richard, came to be dealt with. This was proposed on Monday evening, on the motion that the Speaker leave the chair, that the House might go into committee on the bill, and the exact terms of the amendment were—

That, in the opinion of this House, the principle of universal compulsion in education cannot be applied, without great injustice, unless provision be made for placing public elementary schools under public management.

As the bill stood first on the Orders of the Day, Mr. Richard occupied a favourable position; since five o'clock on a Government night is one of the best times for securing a good audience, and a patient hearing. The benches had been full while the preliminary business was going on—the questioning of Mr. Disraeli on the Bulgarian atrocities helping to fill them. That over, several members left; but after his opening sentences Mr. Richard was quietly heard right on to the end. His speech was full of matter, carefully arranged, as is usual with him; and if he was less pungent than usual he was more than usually vigorous and forcible. The knot of country gentlemen who sit just below the gangway on the Ministerial side evidently did not at all relish some of his descriptions of clerical proceedings; but they seemed inclined to make merry over his statements relative to the refusal of landlords to let farms to Dissenters, as much as to say that they would have been fools to do otherwise. As the speech dwelt a good deal on the antagonism between Churchmen and Dissenters, there was not time to bring out, quite so fully as was desirable, the political objections to the government proposals, and the mode in which, by the adoption of the principle contained in the amendment, compulsion might be generally adopted without violating the rights of conscience. Mr. Richard spoke for about an hour and a quarter.

Mr. Edward Jenkins seconded the amendment in a thoughtful and emphatic speech, in the course of which he warned the House that it was entering on a course which would be certain to lead to an embittered controversy. He also pointed out that the cause of compulsion in education was likely to be injured by associating it with denominationalism, which had proved to be both wasteful and inefficient.

It had been thought likely that an attempt would be made to prevent a lengthened discussion, by abstinence from speech-making in opposition to the amendment, with a view to forcing an early division. When, however, on Mr. Jenkins sitting down, three Tory members rose, it was evident that *that* was not to be the line taken, and Mr. Hubbard, who was called upon, spoke at great length. He was, as usual, garrulous, but very plain-spoken, and thoroughly denominational. Education was nothing without religion, and religion must be dogmatic, all complaints about dogmatic teaching being "moonshine." Mr. Hubbard is, I believe, a leading member of the National Society, and his speech was thoroughly National-Society talk. Mr. Alexander McArthur followed, in a lengthened speech, full of facts, but not delivered with much animation. How, indeed, was it possible to be animated when the House was dining, and less than forty members were listening? He did not wish to injure denominational schools, but to extend them was another matter. He vindicated school boards from the attacks made upon them by Mr. Hardy and others, and showed how satisfactorily they had worked. He expressed his belief that in some of the denominational schools the conscience clause had been "shamefully violated," and he described the devices resorted to to first convert denominational schools into board schools, and then to make them as denominational as they were before. He made an effective reference to the Cambridge Grammar School case, and stated some facts to show that there was not only a religious difficulty, but that it was one of a very serious kind. One part of his speech was devoted to a reply to that of Mr. Walter on the second reading, and warmly protested against the imputation that the action of Nonconformists in this matter originated in party and political motives. Mr. Greene, the Conservative member for Bury St. Edmunds, is usually entertaining, but was now serious, not to say downright dull. He dealt a good deal in generalities, but confessed to a feeling of shame at some of the facts stated by Mr. McArthur, though he expressed the belief that the Church of England could put down the practices complained of.

Mr. Morley was very persuasive in his speech; as though he thought that Lord Sandon and his supporters could be moved to make concessions of value. He expressed himself strongly in favour of Bible teaching, though without denominational doctrines. But he strongly condemned the avowal of the National Society that the great aim of Church schools should be to make Churchmen, and said that, if some concession were not made, there would be much bitter feeling. He, therefore, hoped Mr. Richard would divide, as a protest against that which was likely to bring about such a result. Mr. Halsey, a Conservative, told the House three times over that he was chairman of a school board, and, therefore, he objected to their being spoken of as disparagingly as they had been. Nevertheless, as rural boards would be composed of the same individuals as the boards of guardians, they could in many places be dispensed with. And Mr. H., like some other M.P.'s, stoutly insisted that there was no religious difficulty at all.

Mr. Cowper-Temple, if he be weak, is always amiable, and so he began by admitting the "energy and courage" of the Dissenters, though he thought their present action inconsistent with the toleration they professed. He tried to break the force of some of Mr. Richard's statements by treating them as the "eccentricities, or follies, of a few." Then he insisted that, if what Dissenters asked for was conceded, children must be left uneducated; or school boards must be everywhere created, and a slur ought not to be cast upon the managers of the denominational schools. He denied that proselytism was attempted in the schools; it was done outside. There was no grievance, and the "watchful jealousy" of the Nonconformists was no longer needed, and secularism was tyranny—and more of the like kind. Mr. Paget, on the other side of the House, said the amendment meant war to the knife with the denominational schools, denounced the exclusion of the Bible as monstrous, and insisted that the voluntary schools ought to be exempted from parish rating.

Mr. Mundella struck in with a vigorous impromptu speech, suggested by some of the things said on the other side. He pointed out that the amounts raised by voluntary schools would decline after the passing of the bill, while the amount of public money expended would increase. He also suggested that the complaints made of the evasions of the Conscience Clause, which reached the department, represented other cases of which the public heard nothing, and animadverted on the recent policy of the department.

There was now a good House again, and Mr. Hall, the Tory member for Oxford, made a truculent, declamatory speech, in which he spoke of school boards as "detestable," and used other epithets respecting them which contrasted strongly with Lord Sandon's repudiation of any hostility to those institutions. Mr. Hall, however, only went a little further than Mr. Hardy did in the previous debate. He talked of its being to the "eternal disgrace" of Birmingham that religion was excluded from its board schools; objected to the Secularists trying "to cram their opinions down other people's throats," and, generally, made a speech which Lord Hartington called eloquent, but which I thought a coarse piece of claptrap.

Up to this point the "front bench men" on both sides had been silent; but now the leader of the Opposition spoke, and though a Liberal whip had been issued in the morning, it was known that Lord Hartington was going to join Mr. Forster in helping the Government to soundly beat Mr. Richard. He spoke well—for him, and though he said he should not make an argumentative speech, he did try to be argumentative. He was respectful in his treatment of Mr. Richard and his positions, and was obliged to make some admissions. In fact, he not only had no doubt that Churchmen sometimes persecuted Dissenters, but "had no doubt whatever that all religious sects were animated to a considerable extent by religious animosity and bigotry!" But he conceded everything when he said:—"I am not surprised that my hon. friend is dissatisfied with the present system. I must confess it is a remarkable, and I believe it is an anomalous system. It is a system which places in the hands of individuals duties and powers which I believe in every other country in the world are exercised by the State. It is a system which has undoubtedly worked very much to the advantage of one denomination and to the detriment of others." And what was his reply? I give it because it describes the position of a large number of Liberals. He had previously said, if the bill were likely to fail in an educational respect, then those of its provisions which trenched on the liberty of the subject might be looked upon with jealousy; but that if it were likely to secure an educational advance, then it ought not to be rejected. Now he added—

> When I look to the hold this system has acquired, when I look to the vast amount of educational machinery which would be put out of gear by any sudden and violent change, when I look to the power which the present managers have of resisting any such sudden change, when I look, above all, to the immense check which would be put on the existing educational progress of the country, I admit I cannot go with my hon. friend when he proposes universal compulsion until a system has been established which he and I perhaps would regard as more perfect.

In other words, religious liberty is to be sacrificed for the sake of national education; as though national education would be a blessing if it violated the principles of religious liberty! It is true his lordship took other ground also—insisting that what Mr. Richard proposed would not secure his object, while it would take away the denominational schools from their present owners. And he summed up by saying, we must depend on the conscience clause, and on the amendments which were about to be proposed by Mr. Forster. It was, I have no doubt, a sincere speech; but it will be disappointing to Nonconformists that the man whom they undoubtedly placed in the Liberal leadership, instead of Mr. Forster, is, practically, Mr. Forster over again; save that he is less sardonic and irritating in his treatment of them than Mr. Forster in 1870. Mr. Waddy and Lord Sandon rose together, and though there were loud calls for "Waddy," he gave way to the Vice-President of the Council, who, after the speeches of Mr. Cowper-Temple and Lord Hartington, seemed to think he had easy work, and was therefore more flippant and summary than usual. He, too, considered the Nonconformist grievance to be imaginary, and said he was confirmed in his belief by the private communications he had received from Nonconformists, who repudiated the protest which had been made against the bill. Now we should like to know who are these Nonconformists, that have not the courage to give public utterance to their views, but only make a Tory Minister their confidante! Unfortunately, however, Lord Sandon was able to give names in one case; since he quoted a circular issued after the delivery of his own speech, but before the publication of the bill, by the Central Nonconformist Committee, recommending that the compulsory provisions of the bill should be acquiesced in in the interests of neglected children in the rural parishes. This "remarkable testimony," as he called it, was quoted with great glee—in fact, flung in Mr. Richard's face—by Lord Sandon, who, of course, did not explain that the circular contained the first hasty impressions of the gentlemen who signed it, before the real bearing of the bill had come to be thoroughly understood. His lordship took care to refrain from stating that this view of the case was *not* endorsed by the resolutions subsequently adopted at Crewe after the same gentlemen had more maturely considered the provisions of his bill.

It would have been unfortunate to have had a division immediately after such speeches as those of Lords Hartington and Sandon, and therefore Mr. Waddy again rose, and as the House evidently did not want an adjournment, he significantly

said that he must be heard then. The speaker had only just come up from Newcastle-on-Tyne, and the circumstances were somewhat calculated to try his mettle, but he said what was needed to be said, and said it with an earnestness and a decisiveness which compelled the House to listen. The drift of his speech was that it was only because of the crass ignorance of the gentlemen opposite that they denied the existence of a religious difficulty—that the persecution of Dissenters was going on all over the country, and that an extension of it by means of this bill was not to be quietly borne. Merely denominational education might have been, but denominationalism *plus* compulsion, was another thing, and the House would make a great mistake if it supposed that it might with safety consign the education of the entire rural population to a single Church, which avowed its intention to withdraw the children of Nonconformists from the faith and communion of their fathers. He spoke as a Methodist, and the Methodists had not hitherto been in favour of disestablishment; but now they would be compelled to raise that cry in self-defence. I believe the speech fixed some of the hesitating Liberals, who, at last, came to see that there was a grievance after all, and that it would not be safe to ignore its existence.

Some other members, including Sir Henry Havelock, would have gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of expressing their strong objections to some of the provisions of the bill, but were precluded from doing so by the impatience of the House.

Now came the division—a little after half-past twelve. The only question about which there was a doubt was the number of votes Mr. Richard would get. The croakers had throughout the evening been saying only fifty, and suggested the wisdom of not dividing. The men, however, who preferred to be well beaten to anything like shirking, thought that a hundred was a likelier figure, and they proved to be right; for including tellers there were 101 for the amendment—notwithstanding some unavoidable absences.

Nevertheless, the study of the division list is not a pleasant one. *Birmingham did not give Mr. Richard a single vote!* For Mr. Bright was absent, Mr. Chamberlain was ill, and *Mr. Muntz voted with the Tories.* So did both the Bradford members. Halifax was unrepresented, for Mr. Crossley was away and Mr. Stansfeld walked out without voting. Mr. Leeman did the same, while the other York member, one of the Government, of course, voted with the "Ayes." What will their constituents say of Mr. Bolckow, of Mr. Pease, of Lord Frederick Cavendish, of Mr. Samuda, of Mr. Stanton—not to mention other Liberal members—who helped to swell the Government majority think of the votes of their members? I hope the division will be well studied, and the list of absentees. There was a clear warning given that this division would be regarded as a test division, and if there is no longer any earnestness in the House of Commons, it should be seen and felt that there is still earnestness out of it.

THE DIVISION ON MR. RICHARD'S MOTION.

July 10, on going into Committee on Lord Sandon's Education Bill, Mr. Richard moved—"That, in the opinion of this House, the principle of universal compulsion in education cannot be applied without great injustice, unless provision be made for placing public elementary schools under public management."

The following members (101 with tellers) voted for Mr. Richard's motion:—

Allen, W S	Davies, D	Lusk, Sir A
Anderson, G	Davies, R	Macdonald, A
Backhouse, E	Dilke, Sir C W	Mackintosh, C F
Balfour, Sir G	Dillwyn, L L	M'Arthur, A
Barclay, J W	Dodds, J	Maitland, J
Bass, A	Earp, T	Maitland, W F
Baxter, Rt Hon W E	Edwards, H	Middleton, Sir A E
Bazley, Sir T.	Forster, Sir C	Milbank, F A
Beaumont, Major F	Goldsmid, Sir F	Morgan, G O
Beaumont, W B	Goldsmid, J	Morley, S
Biddulph, M	Gourley, E T	Mundella, A J
Blake, T	Grieve, J J	Norwood, C M
Briggs, W E	Havelock, Sir H	O'Gorman, P
Bright, Jacob	Hayter, A D	Palmer, C M
Brocklehurst, W C	Hill, T R	Pennington, F
Brogden, A	Hodgson, K D	Potter, T B
Brown, A H	Holland, S	Ralli, P
Brown, J C	Holms, J	Rothschild, Sir N de
Burt, T	Howard, E S	Russell, Lord A
Campbell-Bannerman, H.	Ingram, W J	Sheridan, H B
	James, W H	Sherriff, A C
Carington, Hn C l W	James, Sir H	Simon, Mr Serjeant
Carter, R M	Jenkins, D J	Sinclair, Sir J T G
Cave, T	Kensington, Lord	Smith, E
Chadwick, D	Laverton, A	Smyth, R
Chambers, Sir T	Lawrence, Sir J C	Taylor, D
Cholmeley, Sir H	Lawson, Sir W	Taylor, P A
Clifford, C C	Leatham, E A	Villiers, Rt Hn C P
Cole, H T	Lefevre, G J S	Waddy, S D
Colman, J J	Leith, J F	Weguelin, T M
Cowan, J	Lloyd, M	Wilson, C
Cowen, J	Locke, J	Wilson, Sir M
Crawford, J S	Lush, Dr	Young, A W
Cross, J K		

Tellers for the Noes, Mr. Richard and Mr. Edward Jenkins.

The following Liberal members voted against the motion:—

Acland, Sir T D	Forster, Rt Hn W E	O'Connor Don, The
Adam, Rt Hon W P	Foster, W H	O'Donoghue, The
Amory, Sir J H	Goschen, Rt Hn G J	O'Leary, W
Antrobus, Sir E	Gower, E L	Pease, J W
Barclay, A C	Hankey, T	Peel, A W
Bolckow, H F	Hartington, Mqis of	Pender, J
Callan, P	Henry, M	Playfair, Rt Hon L
Cavendish, Lord F	Kay-Shuttleworth A	Portman, Hon W
Cavendish, Lord G	Kingscote, Colonel	Power, R
Corbett, J	Law, Right Hon H	Rathbone, W
Dease, E	Lorne, Marquis of	St. Aubyn, Sir J
Dodson, J G	McLagan, P	Samuda, J D
Downing, McC	Monk, C J	Stanton, A J
Dundas, J C	Muntz, P H	Sullivan, A M
Egerton, Admiral	O'Brien, Sir P	Swanston, W
Evans, T W	O'Byrne, W R	Temple, Rt Hn W C
Ferguson, R	O'Callaghan, Hon W	Walter, J
Fletcher, I	O'Clery, K	Yeaman, J
Foljambe, F J		

The following Liberal members were absent:—

Anstruther, Sir R	Gladstone, W H	O'Keefe, J
Ashley, Hon A	Grey De, Earl	O'Loghlen, Rt Hon Sir C
Bass, M T	Grosvenor, Lord R	
Bell, I L	Harcourt, Sir W V	O'Reilly, Major
Biggar, S G	Harrison, C	O'Shaughnessy, R
Blennerhassett, R P	Harrison, J F	O'Sullivan, W
Bolckow, H	Herbert, H A	Parnell, C S
Brady, Dr	Herschell, F	Perkins, Sir F
Brassey, H A	Holms, W	Phillips, R N
Brassey, T	Hopwood, C H	Plimsoll, S
Bright, Rt Hn John	Horsman, Rt Hn E	Price, W E
Bristowe, S	Hughes, W B	Ramsay, J
Browne, G E	Jackson, Sir H	Rashleigh, Sir C
Bruce, Lord E	Johnstone, Sir H	Redmond, W A
Bryan, G L	Kenealy, Dr	Reed, E J
Butt, Dr	Kinnaird, Hon A	Robertson, H
Cameron, Dr	Kirk, G H	Roebuck, J A
Campbell, Sir G	Knatchbull-Hugessen, Right Hon E	Rylands, P
Cartwright, W C		Samuelson, B
Chamberlain, J	Laing, S	Seeley, C
Childers, Rt Hn H	Lambert, N G	Shaw, W
Clarke, J C	Leeman, G	Sheil, E
Clive, G	Lowe, Right Hon R	Sherlock, D
Cogan, H F	Lubbock, Sir J	Smyth, P J
Colebrooke, Sir T	McCarthy, J G	Stacpoole, Captain
Collins, E	Macduff, Viscount	Stafford, Marquis of
Cotes, C C	McGregor, D	Stansfeld, Rt Hn J
Cowper, Hon W F	McArthur, W	Stevenson, J C
Crossley, J	McLaren, Duncan	Stewart, Colonel
Dalway, M R	Majoribanks, Sir D	Talbot, C R M
Davie, Sir H	Marling, S S	Tavistock, Mrqis of
Dickson, T A	Martin P	Torrens, W T
Digby, K T	Martin, P W	Tracy, Hon C
Duff, W E G	Massey, Rt Hn W N	Trevelyan, G O
Duff, R W	Matheson, A	Vivian, A P
Ellice, E	Meldon, C H	Vivian, H H
Ennis, N	Montagu, Lord R	Waterlow, Sir S
Esmonde, Sir J	Moore, A J	Watkin, Sir E
Fawcett, H	Morris, G	Whalley, G H
Fitzmaurice, Lord E	Mure, Colonel	Whitbread, S
Fitzwilliam, Hon C	Murphy, N D	Whitwell, J
Fothergill, R	Noel, E	Whitworth, B
French, Hon C	Nolan, Captain	Whitworth, W
Galwey, Viscount	O'Conor, D M	Williams, Watkin
Gladstone, Rt Hn W E		

Mr. Stansfeld and Mr. Leeman walked out of the House to avoid voting. Mr. McLaren and Dr. Cameron were unable to remain for the division. Mr. W. McArthur and Mr. Chamberlain were away ill. Mr. Hopwood is on circuit. Lieut.-Colonel Stuart, Mr. Kinnaird, and Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen paired for the night.

Mr. Fawcett and Lord E. Fitzmaurice were present during the debate.

Correspondence.

THE EDUCATION BILL AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN ITS BEARING ON PUBLIC MORALITY.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—While we have before us the prospect of a reactionary Education Act, it cannot be amiss for us seriously to consider the *moral* influence of the religious instruction which the supporters of that measure hope to shower upon the country. We are too much accustomed to hear that religion and morality go hand-in-hand. That they ought to do so I admit. True religion and sound morality will never be at war with each other. But, unfortunately, it is not always with true religion that we have to deal; and even if it were, it is quite possible to teach what is quite true in such a way as to do harm. Besides, what passes under the comprehensive name of religious instruction is not always either religion or morality, and tends neither, on the one hand, to produce healthy religious emotions nor, on the other, to develop or instruct the moral faculty. I think we are, therefore, bound to consider in what way the religious instruction proposed to be given to the children of school age by the supporters of Lord Sandon's Bill will affect their moral training.

I approach this question not as a Nonconformist, nor in the interests of sect or party. I mean to look at it as one anxious for the healthy, moral development of the rising race. I will begin with the Church Catechism—a treatise against which I do not mean to say a word. There are many who believe that catechism to be sound in doctrine and healthy in tone; and my present object is not to question the correctness of their opinion, but only to inquire how far the use of it in schools must be positively mischievous. No person can read that catechism without perceiving that it was intended to be used as a religious lesson-book for such children only as have been baptized, so to speak, within the fold of the National Church. It is not, like the Assembly's *Shorter Catechism*, a purely theological treatise. It has a distinctly individual reference to the personal history of the child examined in it. It takes for granted, not only that the child has been baptized, but that it has been brought by baptism into the National Church. It is, in short, a treatise intended to prepare the children of the National Church for confirmation. It was never meant for any other purpose, and consequently when the founders of the National Society applied for a charter of incorporation they took care to make it perfectly clear that their main object was to educate the children of the poor in the principles of the Established Church, and that the catechism and liturgy were to be their standard religious text-books. They had nothing to say in those times about the "Bible in school."

Now, when the catechism is employed for this, its legitimate purpose, we have, generally speaking, no ground for objecting; but when it is used indiscriminately, it is not only perverted from the object which it was meant to serve, but it is used for an unlawful and an unwarrantable end. When children are taught to repeat as matter of fact in their personal history what is not fact at all, and what is known to themselves to be anything but fact, they can hardly fail to receive a moral injury. If they have not been baptized at all, the criminality of asking them to repeat the first part of the catechism must be obvious to everyone. Even if they have been baptized, but not within the fold of the Church and according to its rites, the recital of it is a perversion of fact. But to make them say that they have been baptized when they have not; that their godfathers and godmothers made certain promises in their name when they had no sponsors; whatever or that certain spiritual benefits were secured for them which, according to the Church's own teaching, can only be conveyed by priestly hands, is simply to teach the children to convert religion into a charade, and to trifle with truth. I may, perhaps, be reminded that there is a Conscience Clause, but no reply could be more irrelevant. What Conscience clause can cover a lie? What right has any man to teach a child to say what is not true, simply because the parents of that child decline to make use of a Conscience Clause? The practice, whether sanctioned by parents or not, is a huge crime; and if those who countenance it think they are imparting religious instruction, they cannot, at all events, vindicate themselves from the charge of blighting in the bud the child's moral sense, and impressing it with the idea that truth and religion may stand in naked antagonism to each other. I for one protest against the State countenancing so pernicious a custom. It appears to me that, in the interest of public morality, and with a view to check that unveracity which is one of the most prevalent of our national vices, the State should refuse its patronage and support to all schools in which so demoralising a practice is permitted. Who can tell how far such teaching is now responsible for the hypocrisy and indifference to truth which one sees reason to deplore every day?

Passing now to another phase of the question, I see that Mr. Cowper-Temple, who sat behind Mr. Forster in 1870, and took a not inconspicuous part in the great controversy of that eventful session, proposes to make mince-meat of the clause in the Act of 1870, with which his name is always associated. According to an amendment standing in his name, he is to move that, "the Apostles' Creed shall not be deemed a religious formulary distinctive of any particular denomination." Why he should not, at the same time, move that, "four and five are nine" shall not be deemed a fact in arithmetic, or that the *Pons Asinorum* shall not be deemed a proposition in Euclid, I will not inquire. Neither shall I ask what Unitarians will be likely say to his amendment, or what objections Jews and others may reasonably offer. I shall not even stay to inquire how far even the apostles themselves might have demurred to having such a creed fathered upon them. I will only ask this, What children are to be taught to repeat the creed? Even when a child affirms that it believes in God the Father, in Jesus Christ His only Son, and in the Holy Ghost, it makes an assertion which is either true or false. If, as a matter of fact, the child does so believe, it is all right; if not, it is all wrong. As I understand religious instruction, it consists in the teaching of religious truths so as to produce belief in them, and lead to a godly life—certainly not in teaching children to say, "I believe in this or in that," when they may not in reality believe in any such thing. Here, again, morality is trifled with. Surely we might at least teach children to

speak the truth. I fear all denominations are too indifferent to this. Children are taught to say and to sing what is, on the very face of it, untrue. It is one thing to teach children that there is a God, another to accustom them to profess belief in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Such teaching is mere proselytism carried on by sacrificing truth at the altar of unscrupulous sectarian dogma. Mr. Cowper-Temple and others forget that the Apostles' Creed, suitable as it may be for those who are supposed to have been received by baptism or otherwise into the Church, is a lie in the mouth of any who does not actually believe as it makes the reciter of it profess.

I need not trespass further on your space, unless I may be allowed to call attention to that remarkable portion of an amendment to be proposed by Sir John Kennaway, in which he is to move that the Ten Commandments are not to be deemed a religious formulary distinctive of any particular denomination. It is so hard to imagine anyone mistaking these commandments for a religious formulary at all that Parliament might surely be spared the trouble of discussing the question. One would also like to know in what sense the children who are to assure us of their belief that Christ "descended into hell" regard the words which their teachers will put into their mouths. Prussia has had religious vitality pretty well eaten out of it by denominational and dogmatic instruction, and yet the Minister of Public Instruction enjoins in the *Allgemeine Bestimmungen* prepared for the public elementary schools of Germany that in the matter of religious teaching *Geistloses Einlernen ist zu vermeiden* ("Meaningless learning by rote is to be avoided"). It will surely be a disgrace to us as a nation, if our legislators not only sanction such learning, but commit the infinitely graver crime of teaching little children that falsehood may form part of religious training, and that truth is nothing if it please the parson and the squire to demand the opposite. As for myself, I say, let that religious instruction perish which demands such a shameful sacrifice. Let truth be enshrined in the hearts of our children from the very cradle. Let them be trained to regard everything as utterly unworthy of them if it entices them from an honest avowal of their own convictions, or puts upon their lips words which they cannot use without trifling with conscience or uttering a lie. It will be poor consolation to know that we have gained a few thousand juvenile proselytes through one Act of Parliament, and manufactured the same number of dissemblers. Apologising for the length of this letter,

I am, &c.,
F. SONLEY JOHNSTONE.

Merry Hill, Wolverhampton.

HOW TO SAY IT.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—With your permission I should like to *add* two thoughts to what I wrote, and which you did me the honour to insert in the *Nonconformist* of August 12, 1874, under the above heading. In the *Contemporary Review* for October, 1874, p. 679, the writer (no less a personage than the late Premier) says, "The aid they (the laity) may give the clergyman (*often so valuable even in a physical point of view* by reading the lessons." This sentence is the basis o the first remark I wish to make, which is, that I think lay aid might come in, in the congregational form of worship, very much to the aid of the minister and not a little to the comfort and profit of the people. Consider the fact of a minister beginning with a short prayer, then reading a longer or shorter portion of Scripture, then after singing reading another portion of Scripture, and following immediately with the general prayer—is it wise to tax him physically with this process at least twice in the day, and then to complain if he be not heard? This, after singing, to be followed by a sermon, which everyone expects to be so delivered, that if it be not attended to or followed, it is not because that it is not heard. I would therefore deferentially suggest that one or more laymen be employed to read one or both of the portions of Scripture selected by the minister, and in large churches the readers might be from many, and not one. What an educational influence such a practice would exert upon the laity. An engineer in this town told me within the last forty-eight hours that he went to London to hear Messrs. Sankey and Moody, and that the way in which the Scripture was read was in itself a sermon.

The other thought I wish to state is, that it is all-important that there be sufficient *fluid* in the system so that there be not any lack of moisture in the mouth—you will now see that I belong to the medical profession. At this time of the year when a man *ought* to be perspiring *sensibly*, it is of the greatest importance that he drinks more liquid than in cold weather. An average-sized man excretes in the twenty-four hours forty ounces by the kidneys, thirty by the skin, thirty by the lungs, and five or six by the intestines: here are 105 ounces, or more than five imperial pints. Then in hot weather the excretion of the lungs and skin is much increased, so that, if a man do not put more fluid into his system, his skin becomes dry—his tongue cleaves to the roof of his mouth, and his voice shows a lack of fluid in the body. I might add that I have observed this imperfection in articulation in "total abstainers" more than in others, and it is a pity they should dry up their voice, which the principle in no way calls upon them to do. If these remarks contribute to the "ability to speak, so as to be heard," I shall not regret having written them.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
A POLITICAL DISSENTER.

July 3, 1876.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR,—The *site* of the house of Oliver Cromwell's birth, a good mansion with three acres of garden and lawn, in the centre of our town, is *in the market* for something about 4,000*l*. I expected the Tories would have gobbled this up, but they have not, and it hangs fire.

I see "A Descendant of Oliver Cromwell" in the "Noncon." and also a Mr. Samuel Longley. Have they the wish and the power to buy? If not, do you know of any Nonconformist who would like to be the purchaser? Will you sound it abroad in the best way you can? I expect there are some people, if we knew where they dwell, who would be in raptures to be possessers of the spot where Oliver Cromwell opened his eyes on this world of ours.

Yours truly.
W. FOSTER.

Huntingdon, July 10,

P.S.—I write to you because of the wide scope of importance you possess amongst us Nonconformists, and also from seeing these recent communication in your paper about Oliver Cromwell.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN RICHMOND.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—The Select Vestry of this place has for some time past been noted for its not overwise proceedings. By a recent act, the Solons who compose the majority of that body, have gone beyond any of their previous doings.

For some years past, the students of the Wesleyan Missionary College in this place have conducted open-air services on the Terrace, on Sunday afternoon during the summer. Their addresses were marked by considerable talent and mental culture. Confined to a recess of the Terrace their congregations were orderly and attentive, and did not obstruct the roadway. Our governing wiseacres, the Select, thought fit last week to prohibit the holding of such services in the future. The decision came about in this wise. A local Ritualist of no standing thought proper in a letter to the vestry-clerk, to complain of these services, and termed them "a nuisance," whereupon a majority of the Select denounced in strong terms the praiseworthy attempts of these young men to do good, and in spite of the remonstrances of a few members of better mind, it was resolved that the Terrace should be closed against the students.

I wish the more especially to draw the public attention to this affair, because it is one of several attempts made by the Ritualists, who are very strong here, to repress as far as possible the manifestation of all religious thought or enterprise that is contrary to their own novel and peculiar views. To this end, besides efforts in several other directions, they have sought to obtain power in the vestry by packing it with their nominees. At two recent elections the Ritualist clergy, aided by several ladies, were engaged in an active canvass of the ratepayers, especially of the smaller householders. They have thus caused the return of six of their nominees, and are now looking forward to a larger addition to their party in the vestry at future elections. These nominees, with other members of the vestry favourable to the Ritualists, have thus presumed on the high-handed proceedings of which I complain. There can be no doubt that the vestry has exceeded its power.

In the full belief that this proceeding was an illegal usurpation of authority, the Rev. D. Sanderson, governor of the Wesleyan Missionary College, held an open-air service yesterday afternoon on the Terrace. He was supported by a large number of friends, and had a good audience. These Sunday afternoon services have been appreciated by a large number of visitors; they have been productive of much good, and must not be stopped at the behest of a narrow-minded clique.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,
THEOPHILUS SMITH.

Ely House, Richmond, July 10, 1876.

KENNINGTON.—The nineteenth anniversary of the settlement of the Rev. J. Marchant over the Esher-street Church, Kennington, was celebrated on Tuesday, June 27. Alex. McArthur, Esq., M.P., presided at the public meeting. The reports of the pastor and deacons showed progress. Additions had been made to the church; the Sunday and day schools were efficiently conducted; the maternal and treat societies were doing service in in the neighbourhood; while the senior classes of young men and women, now numbering seventy, have so steadily increased as to render the enlargement of the class-rooms indispensable. The congregation have resolved to expend 200*l*. on this and other improvements. Very stimulating addresses were given by the Revs. R. S. Ashton, A. T. Edwards (Rector of St. Philip's Church), J. Morgan, Dr. Thomas, and J. B. Heard.

BUCKINGHAM.—The friends of Congregationalism in Buckingham and neighbourhood appear to have awakened, under the pastorate of the Rev. H. F. Holmes, from their apparent slumber during the past few years. It is not long since, through the exertions of the above-named minister, that the long-standing debt upon the chapel, of 400*l*., was removed. Then the property adjoining the chapel was purchased, and on the 6th ult., in the presence of the Rev. Dr. Morton Brown, and a large number of other friends, the foundation-stone of the new Sabbath-schools, to cost about 1,500*l*., was laid by W. H. French, Esq., J.P. Closely following this grand day at Buckingham, was the opening of a new chapel at Thornborough, the last-named gentleman almost entirely bearing the whole cost. On Tuesday, July 4, a new chapel was opened at the village of Tingewick, by the Rev. T. Bagley, of Banbury. This edifice, which is built of stone, is of early English architecture, with lancet windows, and nearly the whole of the outlay has been defrayed by Mr. French, the total cost being about 400*l*. The opening services were well attended.

PASTORAL LETTER OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.—The "Epistle" or pastoral letter from the Annual Meeting of the Society of Friends recently concluded, is now printed for circulation amongst its subordinate meetings. It is largely doctrinal, but there are some references to slavery and other matters of public interest, and the whole may therefore be summarised. After acknowledging the privilege of Christian fellowship, and urging that none should miss that peace, it proceeds to urge the depth of man's fall, his need for a ransom, and the "standard of perfect holiness revealed" in Him, whole followers are urged to "all holy conversation and godliness." The fulness of the pardoning mercy of the Lord is pointed out, as well as His "healing and sanctifying grace," and it is added that "an earnest desire" had prevailed in the meeting that "our Christianity may be that which changes the heart, working from the inner to the outer man." Such a faith would enable the Christian, "whether as master or as servant, whether in the shop or in the counting-house, in the bank or in the board-room, in the town council or in the Senate," to give proof of his Lord's supremacy, and the hope is expressed that of no Friend it may be said that "he is serving the world, a lover of himself, of business or of pleasure, more than a lover of God." After expressing sympathy for those whose life appears one struggle with difficulties, and urging their case to be committed to the Lord, affectionate interest is expressed towards those in the fresh glow of their early love, and a hope is expressed that in all the congregations each may "fulfil his part in the general service" that "dedication to the Lord's own teaching may be known," and that every talent may be offered up on the Lord's own altar. Coming next to more public questions, the Epistle says, "We observe with satisfaction that the African slave-trade and slavery, with other allied forms of oppression, are receiving increased public attention," and comfort is taken in the thought that "in His purposes of mercy towards Africa," the Father of all is "ready to bless efforts made in the peaceable spirit of the Gospel to put an end to these vast iniquities, and to open the way for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom in that hitherto afflicted continent." A glance is given at the "evils incident to war and intemperance," which offer "no less formidable barriers to the spread of the Gospel," and the bearing a part in "every right effort for the removal of these prolific sources of misery and crime" is urged. In connection with a reference to similar letters received from co-ordinate meetings, the zeal and earnestness manifested by American Friends in the behalf of the Indians and Freedmen are recognised, and the Epistle concludes with an eloquent and lengthy paragraph inciting to the responsibility of the Church in bearing "an unwavering testimony to the Lord." The Christian is responsible for maintaining such a profession—in bearing testimony against form, in protesting "against hierarchical assumptions" he should be baptised into the one body, and be prepared to take his part in the services of the royal priesthood who "offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God." The Epistle is studded with Scriptural quotations, and is signed "on behalf of the meeting" by its clerk, Mr. G. B. Gibson.

INDEPENDENT COLLEGE, TAUNTON.

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The present College, which was opened in the year 1870, occupies an elevated and healthy site in its own grounds of 25 acres, about one mile from the town, will accommodate 150 Pupils, and is provided with complete gymastic apparatus, airy covered playground, and spacious swimming bath 100 feet by 30 feet, supplied by a stream of excellent water.

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For Prospectus and further information apply to the Rev. the Principal, or to Mr. EDWARD BAYLY, Secretary.

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The Governors being about to appoint a HEADMASTER, invite Candidates to send in Testimonials.

The Headmaster must be a graduate of some University within the British Empire. He is not required to be in Holy Orders.

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Testimonials (of which 15 copies in print or legible handwriting are required) must be addressed not later than August 1st to the Clerk to the Governors, from whom a copy of the scheme and further particulars can be obtained on transmission of six penny postage stamps.

JOHN HEELIS, Solicitor, Skipton,
Clerk to the Governors.

Skipton, July 4th, 1876.

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